





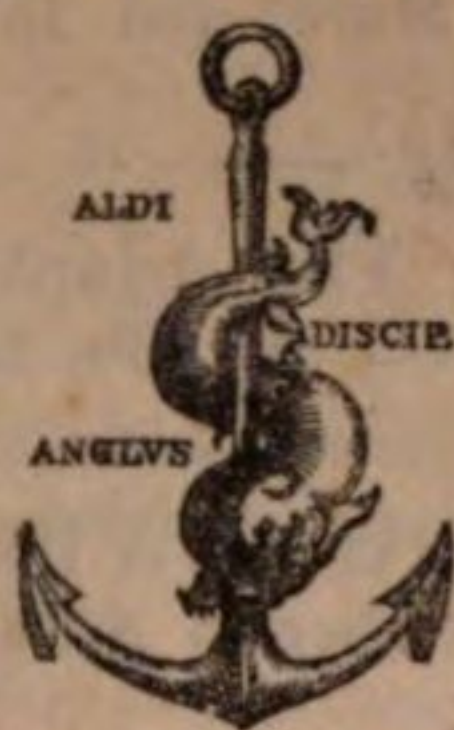
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New York.

Entered as second-class matter,  
October 3, 1879, at New York, N. Y.,  
under No. 107, Postoffice No. 154,  
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Acceptance for mailing at  
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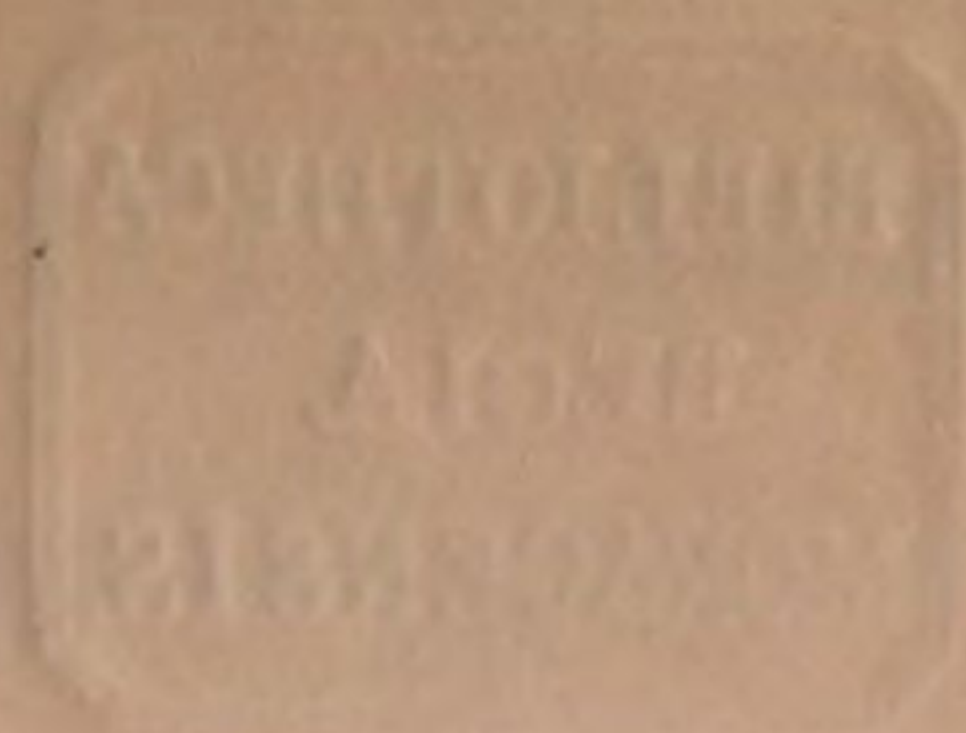
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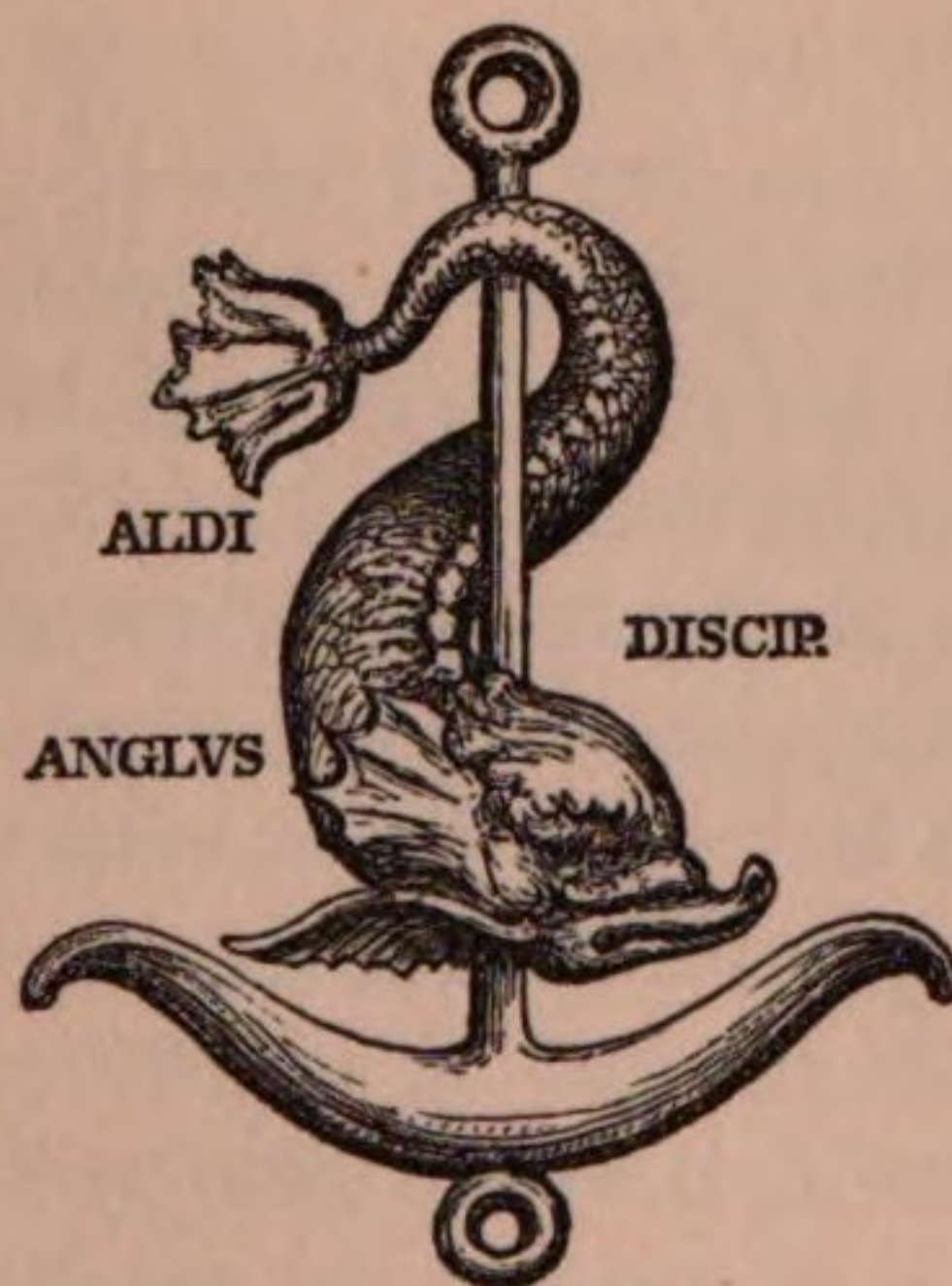
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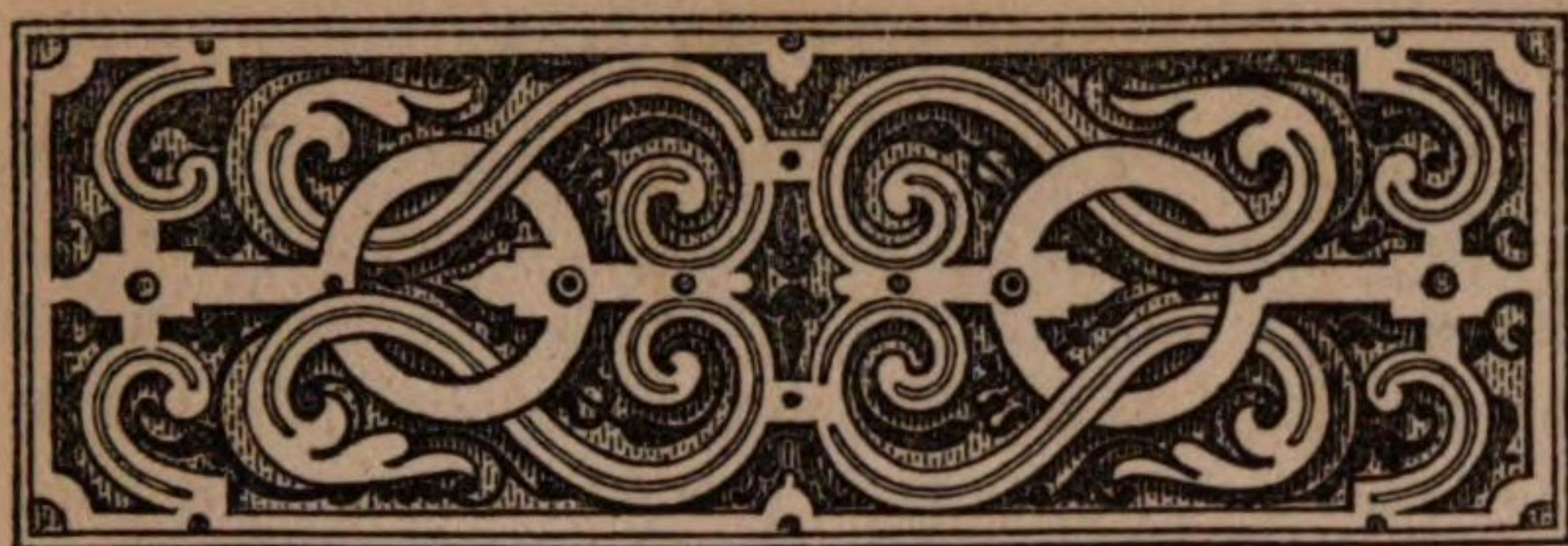
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MY DEAR SIR,

THE circumstances under which the third chapter\* of this volume was written, naturally make me wish to associate your name with the remainder. The field of literature there entered upon is almost untrodden, and although few flowers of extraordinary beauty or pearls of exceeding price have been gathered, I would hope that the labour is not lost which has been bestowed upon it; indeed you are well aware that if rarity can be regarded as enhancing value, nearly the whole of the books here quoted being of uncommon occurrence, some known by name only to bibliographers, others apparently not known at all, they have at least that claim upon the antiquary and the scholar.

My object is to give some notion of the preachers as well as to make sketches of the times of the Reformation in this country: or perhaps to shew their conceptions of what they saw, rather than mine of what I read of. Hence where no passage in a sermon has suggested itself affording the desired light, matters which could easily have been elucidated are often passed

\* It appeared as the first of a series of papers in the British Magazine; these are here republished, or rather perhaps form the basis of the present volume. The first chapter has not been in print.



by in silence. I am sensible of the great deficiencies of these selections, but the fact is, the mine is scarcely rich enough to encourage working it entirely out, for the sake of a mineral found occasionally in the ore. Such passages as are here produced are only incidentally supplied. Andrews has furnished but two or three, Philips the same; Greenham and Smith not half a dozen each; while others who have printed few sermons, but whose mode of treating them is personal and local, as Lever, Stockwood, Drant, &c. are often quoted.

I have to thank you for access to the Lambeth Library, whence a large portion of the present volume is derived, but this would be a very inadequate acknowledgement for kindness which dates long before that fine collection had the benefit of your keeping. Your society then led me to form opinions essential I believe to a candid review of the Reformation, although subsequent years, during which I had not that privilege, may have so modified them as to prevent me from assuming that they have at present more than a general resemblance to your own. Still it gives me pleasure to say where I first was led to converse, however distantly, with ancient piety and wisdom, to watch the designs of Providence unfolded in church history, to venerate men who sustained the light of faith and holiness in dark ages without mimicking the peculiarities of their times, and to revere the virtues and honesty of our Reformers, nor yet allow them an infallibility they denied the Pope.

I am, my dear sir,

Yours, very faithfully,

J. O. W. HAWEIS.

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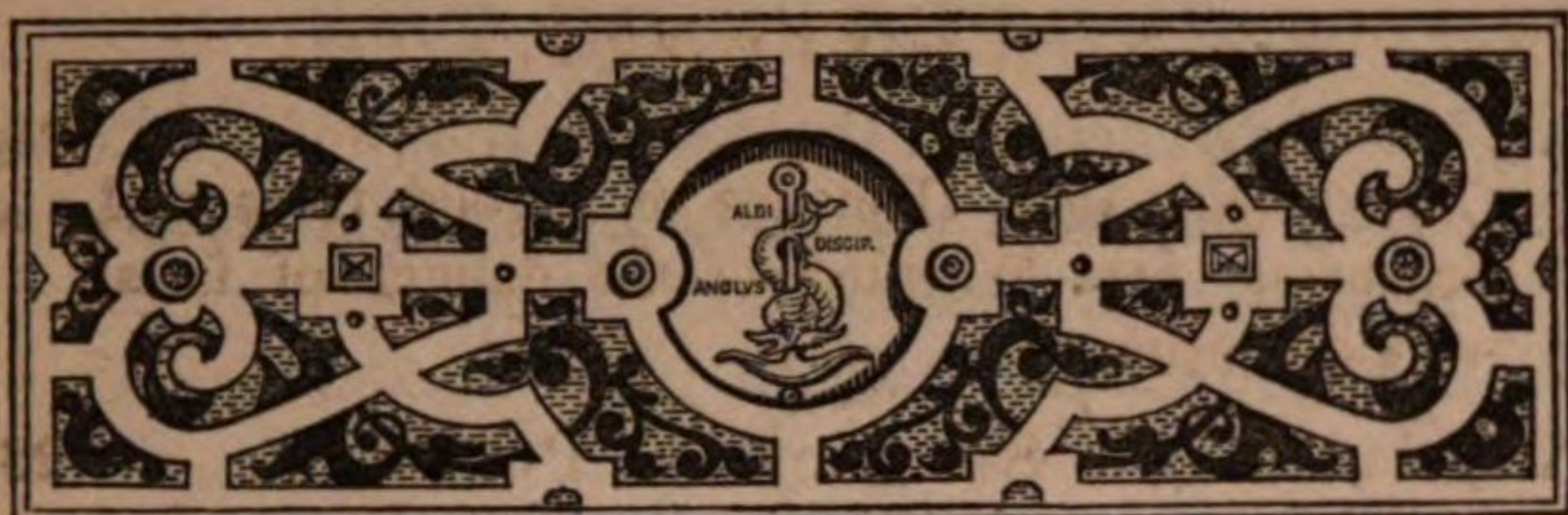
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# SKETCHES OF THE REFORMATION,

TAKEN FROM THE CONTEMPORARY  
PULPIT.

## CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTORY.

But the word preached did not profit them, not being mixed  
with faith in them that heard it. Heb. iv. 2.

### I.

**A**LTHOUGH religion is in principle as immutable as the Giver, there can be no doubt that its developments vary according to the state of society on which they operate. And as a flower will be affected by the soil on which it blooms, not in size and vigour only, but in hue, so the faith of Christ will at one time be exhibited by the church, not merely with greater fervour than at another, but also by different practices and institutions. Without pretending to determine therefore how much of human frailty or celestial guidance may have produced any individual usage, it may be presumed that on the whole the rites of the church have generally been, at the time they were introduced, the expressions of genuine feeling, and the aids of enlightened devotion. That reverence for the past, however, which has always been a marked characteristic of the church of God, has generally retained ceremonies congenial with the age in which they



originated, to encumber those which followed. Having little real, they thus acquired a fictitious value; hence the necessity for reformatations arose, and hence the divided feelings with which good men have usually regarded them.

II. Nothing, in church history is more calculated to suggest such remarks than the records of the various orders of the clergy. After every abatement it must be allowed that the regulars raised the tone of the church in this country, and improved upon the seculars; and although considerable injustice was done by the former to the latter, the first effect was a beneficial reform. Again, when the mendicants reduced the theory of conventual life to rigid practice, and with that single hearted zeal which treads under foot all earthly indulgence, having respect unto the recompence of reward, gave themselves up entirely to preaching and devotion, many a heart was doubtless kindled by their erratic fire on which the routine of ordinary ministrations failed to take effect. And when a standard of holiness so very exalted as theirs applied to large communities in successive ages, became the mother and nurse of more hypocrisy and deeper abominations than blemished the wealthier monasteries, and again the secular clergy were gaining upon their rivals in attainments, popularity, and virtue, new laws, new practices, and a new distribution of church property were required to meet the exigences of the case. This the earliest reformers felt, and it is not the most pleasing feature in their proceedings, that an alienation of the church's patrimony seems always to occupy the foreground. Still it was so that a cloud like a man's hand arose and began by watering God's neglected heritage, then gradually swelled into a torrent, and swept away some venerable landmarks.

III. In England the church certainly failed to derive



all the benefits she might reasonably have expected from the Reformation. It was not in a contest for faith but power, that after a series of efforts, continued through many ages, she succeeded in establishing her freedom from foreign interference. Her church, thus politically insulated from Rome, was religiously still one with the remainder of Western Christendom, and occupied the best possible position for reforming itself in such particulars as the alterations on the face of society required. Unfortunately, however, the monasteries held an enormous territorial property. The redistribution of this was absolutely necessary, but could only be effected by violence. This violence was most criminal, and reacted terribly on the church: it encouraged habits of sacrilege and rapacity in the powerful, it crippled the universities, it promoted contempt of the clergy, it crushed the poor, it encouraged all who, in any form whatever, called for reformation; and its consequences were that the age was not morally the better for it, but the worse.

IV. If these times are fairly thus represented, they are the last to which reasonable men would wish to refer for any thing beyond those fundamental rules which embodied the united wisdom of the best men. Of the principal reformers, convened by lawful authority, it might scarcely be presumptuous to believe that they were kept from error by the Spirit of God. Certainly, to compare the liturgy and articles with the rambling theology of some who aided in compiling them, it does seem as if a hand unseen had guided the pen that wrote them, and an influence from above had withdrawn all reasonable matter for contention. Indeed some of the ablest and best of their opponents admitted that they had stated nothing false, even if (as they supposed) they had failed in fully enunciating the truth. At the same time it would be a blind gra-



titude for the services they performed, to close our eyes upon the age in which they lived, or expect from their writings to obtain a concentration of all that is valuable in sacred literature. Contending for preeminence with heads well worthy of a saintly glory there were many every way worthless. Some well instructed but immoral, others pious but incompetent, most, probably below the present average of learning, intelligence, and virtue. And they had to encounter all the disadvantage of exasperated parties, mean intrigue, and open profligacy, while they themselves were treated as the lowest of the people by Papists who hated them for their Protestantism, and Protestants who plundered and insulted them with the utmost wantonness. Honoured for ever be those confessors who so circumstanced, kept the watch of their God, and like salt preserved the nation from utter corruption ; but ungrateful indeed is he who would wish to have back again such times, or such ministers to reprove them.

v. One objection to acknowledgements like these, will apply to many subsequent pages of the present volume. They may be represented as supplying the Papist with arguments against the Reformation. Now the fact is that Papists have and use these weapons already, and unhappily Protestants are not generally sufficiently well armed to parry them as they ought. But surely it is time now that three hundred years have passed away, that he who would know the foundation of his faith, and the history of his church, should hear the humiliating facts of its revolutions from friends as well as foes. He will then realize more deeply a conviction that his citadel is secure, not by the skill of the builders but by the wisdom of the Architect, that his safety rests not on the names of men, but the unfailing promises of God.

vi. In forming an estimate of the Reformation in



England some knowledge of the contemporary pulpit is evidently desirable ; no field of inquiry appears to have been less explored. Preaching is the ordinary mean by which attention has been called to any corruptions which at various times have degraded the church, and the preliminary to their removal. This was perhaps less evidently the case in England than elsewhere, still, in every stage of its rise and progress the preachers either led or followed the movement at imperceptible distances.

VII. The modifications of doctrine which obtained under Henry were indeed rather the results of private deliberation than public teaching. When preachers obtained a hearing under Edward they did not succeed in impressing permanently on the church those features of transition which in that reign she seemed almost constantly to wear ; when Elizabeth came to the crown, her estimate of orthodoxy modified less by popular preachers than good advisers formed the basis of her reforms. These considerations obviously diminish the value of sermons as guides to the doctrinal movement. In fact, they debated questions already settled, and the immense space occupied by discourses against transubstantiation might have been better occupied, as some of the preachers acknowledged, by declarations of what a sacrament was, than what it was not. But there is another point of view in which many sermons of the sixteenth century present interesting features. They will illustrate the temper, habits, and manners of the times in morals and religion. They will sometimes startle the reader by their boldness, and they will give any candid observer a means of judging how far the Reformation had affected the country in its social virtues. At least they will show those salient points which attracted the preachers' eyes, and supplied them with the topics on which they laid most emphasis.



VIII. From such statements, however, every one will see the necessity of making some deductions. A pious man, deeply impressed with the enormity of any vice commonly practised in society, will speak of it as an offence of unheard of magnitude, calling down fire from heaven. And just in proportion to his ignorance of the past, and his personal purity, will be his conviction that the former times were better than his own. Then again, in speaking, it is natural for every one to paint, in the strongest colours, the view he wishes to fix upon his hearer's heart. Hence allowance must be made for this natural propensity, and the character it gives to declamatory sermons. For this reason few passages have been adduced which are purely rhetorical, most of them state something as a fact, or allude to a matter of notoriety, and in such cases it is more likely that the age was culpable, than the preacher a liar.

IX. On no one subject are the notices more curious, or ample, in compositions of this class, than on the condition of the clergy. Impoverished and degraded beyond any thing that could be conceived of, as likely in an age when some people evidently thought of religion, they found in complaint the solace of the wretched; and these lamentations are sufficiently varied by the eras and positions of the sufferers, whether as parochial clergy or itinerant preachers, to repay perusal. While reading them, however, embracing as they do the abuse of patronage, the incompetence, and demoralization of the sufferers, another motive to make the worst of it must be borne in mind. The clergy were then, as they have been more or less ever since, divided into two parties, which cooperated coldly with each other even when they did not descend to actual abuse. The bishops' party was little inclined to give the Puritans credit for some of the virtues they really possessed,



and sometimes spoke more unkindly than the case required. They, on the other hand, too commonly gave full vent to their opinions on adiaphoral matters, and made themselves wantonly odious. The consequence was natural, that when either of them were led to speak of the ministry, they looked at each other as its spots and blemishes. Still the facts are puzzling to any one who would build on their foundations a favourable theory. The Puritans are constantly complaining of carnal gospellers who, though preaching "most singularly," disgraced their profession; and the defences of orthodoxy are not always such as they would have been, had the assailed been more immaculate. These drove from their society men who had little or nothing to object to their doctrines, and would have done as much honour to their cause as any who adhered to it. Such men as Tunstall and Heath, who went with them until they dreaded to go any further, and saw what made them think Rome with superstition better than England with profligacy, infidelity, and sacrilege.

x. Having thus anticipated one probable objection to the following essays, I would forecast another, that they do not give a fair view of the preaching of the period. To this the answer must be that they pretend to nothing of the kind. They aim rather at showing the condition and habits of the preacher and his congregation, than the means he resorted to for their improvement; and it is only incidentally that the reader is enabled to estimate his learning, piety, or judgment. Still the extracts are fair as far as they go. They are taken at random from men of all parties, not selected with a view of depreciating one or exalting another, but with a determination to be led by them to conclusions: not to collect from them matter to support opinions already formed. They are not, indeed, generally devotional, but it will not be thence inferred



that the remainders of the discourses are equally deficient in the means of spiritual improvement. The sermons of the age (such at least as the writer has met with; probably a small portion of them, yet larger than many may have an opportunity of perusing), are not without their defects. Their composition is loose, and sprinkled with a show of patristical learning, which appears to have been generally very superficial. Sometimes they are ornate and flowery to a most puerile extent; a style in which Dr. Playfere was unrivalled: this, however, is scarcely a greater evil than the dullness of others; and were it not that to souls in anxious pursuit of religious truth, instruction in any form seems precious, and the voice, the eye, the attitude, may fix the attention of others on a sentence, which printed, would appear tame and trivial; above all, the fact that the sword of the Spirit sometimes cuts when no human sight can discern the edge, it would be hard to account for the popularity of some preachers who enjoyed a great reputation. Besides the sermons here extracted, are not always those of the most brilliant men, but often of persons known only by a single printed discourse, and whose biography must be gathered from its title page. From such, if no great displays of eloquence are to be expected, and no profound erudition, the fact of their being least known and least accessible, makes it worth while to quote them in giving any average of testimonies.

XI. If, however, they had their defects they had their excellencies too. There is a manly boldness which runs like a vein of iron through them, making the reader feel, that though the speaker was despised, he was not intimidated. Some of a different class there were. Among large numbers of needy men, it is not to be wondered that some, or even many, should be deficient in the virtues for which their body was con-



spicuous. Such there always have been, such there always will be; and persons requiring their services have a talent in selecting them: but they have left few traces on the pulpit literature of their day. Paul's Cross was oftener occupied by divines who seemed to lay aside their timidity as they ascended its steps, and rise into the dignity of ancient prophets, in enunciating the remonstrances suggested by their sense of duty. How this was to be accounted for I pretend not to say. Whether the nobility considered this privilege as a safety valve, or found it necessary to their peace of mind, to hear something they *could* feel for the moment, the boldest preachers seem to have been seldom authoritatively interrupted. Nor was this all. There were men—perhaps many, for I hope I under-rate their numbers—who spoke in a way which leaves no doubt that the great object of their desires was to guide their hearers into ways of truth and holiness, and whose personal character, whatever might be their intellectual bias, became their profession. A few specimens of their mode of address, may favourably introduce the selections which form the basis of this volume. It will contain quotations from few abler or better men than Bishop Fisher.

XII. The fate of this eminent prelate is familiar to every reader, but he occupies a far less conspicuous position as an orator, a scholar, or a saint, than he held in the eyes of his contemporaries. Henry considered him the most learned bishop in Europe. Erasmus held the same opinion of his erudition, and extended it to his greatness of mind and purity of life. A cursory examination of his works will convince any one that he was not ignorant of any doctrine which the Reformers recovered from neglect; certainly not of Luther's criterion: and as far as it was justly so described, believed it and reposed upon it. Notwithstand-



ing this, however, there is in the whole of Fisher's Sermons a most remarkable want of direct reference to Christ's atonement, as the source of man's salvation. Faith in him, a dependence upon him, are but alluded to; and however much such doctrines may have been abused, no preacher can surely be justified in keeping them out of sight. Christ in his goodness and forbearance is sufficiently set forth, although the mode in which he is made to us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, is so obscurely taught that one may doubt how far his hearers profited by it. But if, to feel deeply the extent of human weakness, to deplore the baneful effects of sin, to extol the divine compassion, and exhort to repentance and a new life, with fidelity and fervour, be of any avail, such words as these may have made the careless sinner commune with his heart and be still.

“ That man were put in great peril and jeopardy, that should hang over a very deep pit, holden up by a weak and slender cord or line, in whose bottom should be most wild and cruel beasts of every kind, abiding with great desire his falling down, for that intent when he shall fall down anon to devour him: which line or cord that he hangeth by should be holden up and staid only by the hands of that man to whom, by his manifold ungentleness, he hath ordered and made himself as a very enemy.....If now under me were such a very deep pit ..... and that there be nothing whereby I might be holden up and succoured, but a broken bucket or pail, which should hang by a small cord stayed and holden up only by the hands of him to whom I have behaved myself as an enemy and an adversary, by great and grievous injuries and wrongs done unto him, would ye not think me in perilous condition?—yes, without fail. Truly all we be in like manner; for under us is the horrible and fearful pit of



hell, where the black devils in the likeness of ramping and cruel beasts doth abide desirously our falling down to them. The lion, the tiger, the bear, or any other wild beast, never layeth so busily wait for his prey when he is hungry, as doth these great and horrible hell-hounds, the devils, for us ... there is none of us living but is holden up from falling down to hell in as feeble and frail a vessel hanging by as weak a line as may be. I beseech you, what vessel may be more brittle and frail than is our body, that daily needeth reparation, and if thou refresh it not anon, it perisheth and cometh to nought? ... and therefore Solomon, in the book called Ecclesiastes, compareth the body of man to a pot that is brittle, saying, ‘Remember—have mind on thy Creator and Maker in the time of thy young age, or ever the pot be broken upon the fountain ..... Oh, good God! how fearful condition stand we in if we remember these jeopardies and perils—and if we do not remember them we may say oh, marvellous blindness!—your own madness never enough to be wailed and cried out upon. Heaven is above us, wherein Almighty God is resplendent and abiding, which giveth himself to us as our Father, if we obey and do according to his holy commandments; the deepness of hell is under us, ... our sins and wickedness be afore us; behind us be the times and spaces that were offered to do satisfaction and penance which we have negligently lost; on our right hand be all the benefits of our most good and meek Lord, Almighty God given unto us; and on our left hand the unmeasurable misfortunes that might have happened if that Almighty God had not defended us by his goodness and meekness. Within us is the most stinking abomination of our sins, whereby the image of Almighty God in us is very foul and deformed, and by that we be made unto him very enemies. By all these things before re-



hearsed, we have provoked the dreadful majesty of him unto so great wrath, that we must needs fear lest that he let fall this line of life from his hand, and the pot of our body be broken, and we then fall down into the deep dungeon of hell. \* \* \* \*

Number the sunbeams, if it be possible, and the mercies of Almighty God be more without end." \*

XIII. Fisher was the last of the old school of preachers; Colet may be called the first of the new, and it was an important promotion when in 1505, he was appointed Dean of St. Paul's: no loftier spire in England pointed heavenward with its silent finger, but little religious energy pervaded the watchmen of the tower. The precentor was a foreigner, and unlikely to edify an English congregation; the chancellor a lawyer, and the treasurer also. Some of these, as well as the inferior members, preached bosom sermons occasionally; so did Fitzjames, the bishop, in a style so tedious and effete that when Colet censured pulpit apathy, his ordinary took it as meant personally.

One of the dean's first reforms was establishing a sermon every Sunday, either at the Cross, or, when the weather made shelter necessary, in a beautiful chapel beneath the choir. In the performance of these duties he actively engaged himself, and provided able deputies on other occasions. His discourses, moreover, were of a kind to promote inquiry after the Holy Scriptures. He would take a whole epistle or gospel, and go through it in the way of commentary. Tall and comely in person, graceful in his attitude and manner, his learning and piety kept pace with his external attractions, and gained universal respect; his style was energetic, and his fondness for poetry had given it an impress of ease and freedom; his face declared the

\* Treatise concerning the fruitful sayings of David.... in seven Sermons, made and compiled by John Fisher. Sign ii. ij.



working of an imaginative mind, and as his subject warmed him, he seemed to grow inspired. "He spoke," says Erasmus "not with his voice alone, but with his eyes, his countenance, and his whole demeanour." Of his style the following may be taken as a specimen; it occurs at the conclusion of a sermon *ad clerum*, originally delivered before the convocation, 1511, in Latin, but the translation is attributed to his pen.

"You will be honoured of the people; it is reason; for Saint Paul saith unto Timothy, 'Priests that rule well are worthy of double honour, chiefly those that labour in word and teaching, therefore, if ye desire to be honoured, first look that ye rule well, and that ye labour in word and teaching, and then shall the people have you in all honour.'

"You will reap their carnal things, and gather tithes and offerings without any striving; right it is, for St. Paul, writing to the Romans, saith they are debtors, and ought to minister to you in carnal things; first sow you your spiritual things, and then shall ye reap plentifully of their carnal things; for, truly, that man is very hard and unjust that will reap where he never did sow, and that will gather where he never scattered.

"Ye will have the churches liberty, and not be drawn afore secular judges; and that also is right, for it is in the Psalms 'Touch not mine anointed;' but if ye desire this liberty, first unloose yourselves from the worldly bondage, and from the services of men, and lift up yourselves unto the true liberty—the spiritual liberty of Christ; into grace from sins, and serve your God, and reign in him, and then believe me, the people will not touch the anointed of their Lord God.

"Ye would be of business in rest and peace, and that is convenient, but if ye will have peace, come again to the God of peace and love; come again to Christ, in whom is the very true peace of the Ghost,



which passeth all wit; come again to yourself and to your priestly living, and to make an end, as St. Paul saith, be you reformed in the newness of your understanding, that you savour those things that be of God, and the peace of God shall be with you.

“Suffer not, fathers, this your so great gathering to depart in vain. Suffer not this your congregation to slip for nought. Truly ye are gathered oftentimes together, (but by your favour to speak the truth), yet I see not what fruit cometh of your assembling—namely to the church.

“Go ye now in the Spirit that ye have called on, that by the help of it ye may in this your council find out, discern, and ordain those things that be profitable to the church, praise unto you, and honour unto God, unto whom be all honour for evermore.—Amen.”

A man far from advanced in years who could deliberately write passages far severer than these, which occur in his Convocation Sermon, would be unlikely to shew more timidity in his extempore effusions; but Colet seldom wrote his sermons, and even ascended the pulpit without notes. He appears to have entertained a low idea of his own compositions, and probably felt how much they owed to his look and accents. The fiery globule struck from steel may kindle a conflagration as it falls, yet appear the moment afterwards a dull and incombustible atom. The following triumph of his oratory is well known: “Being appointed to preach before Henry VIII. on Good Friday, 1512, he treated of Christ’s victory over death and the grave, exhorting his hearers to fight manfully under the Captain of their salvation, and to come off more than conquerors. He proceeded to apply this by urging upon his hearers the duty of conquering those lusts whence came the embroiling of states and princes, the wars and fightings among men. The worldly and wicked,



he said, who fought with each other from hatred and ambition, and were hurried on to mutual slaughter, did not fight under the banner of Christ, but under the devil's ensign. It was hard to die like a Christian in the day of battle—with hands imbrued in blood, and surrounded by everything to stir up stormy and vindictive passions, to die in that charity without which no man shall see the Lord. In conclusion, he exhorted those who professed to follow the standard of their Saviour, to imitate him in his lowliness and peaceful spirit, rather than an Alexander or a Cæsar. Henry listened with evident emotion, and Colet's enemies hoped that his hour was come; but the king, in a private audience, treated him with great respect, and having persuaded him to preach on the circumstances which might justify a war, dismissed him graciously. For the sermon which resulted from this interview, he gave him public thanks, and observed, 'Let every man choose his own doctor, but this shall be my doctor.'"

XIV. One of the most eloquent preachers in times immediately succeeding those of Colet, and one who, from his peculiar position, must have influenced the doctrines of the church of England to an incalculable extent, was John Longland. He was a man of exemplary life and conversation, considerable learning, and excellent address. He held successively the posts of Principal of Magdalen Hall, Dean of Salisbury, Canon of Windsor, Confessor to the King, Lord Almoner, Bishop of Lincoln, and Chancellor to the University of Oxford. The suggestion of a divorce between Henry VIII. and Catharine is generally attributed to him, either as acting on his own convictions, or forwarding the designs of his friend and patron Wolsey. This measure, which entailed such important consequences, he advanced by acting for the king at Oxford, in procuring the favourable opinion of convocation, and must



on this and many other accounts be classed among the low churchmen of his day, notwithstanding the figure he makes as a persecutor in Fox's Martyrology.

The following passage may scarcely seem worthy, from its defects of style, of one of the best speakers of his age. By him, however, it was delivered in English, but, like nearly all his other sermons, exists, it is believed, only in a Latin translation by Thomas Key. Something of beauty was, doubtless, lost in his transference, more in the present re-rendering; but enough is left to make it remarkable both for matter and manner; its incongruity with Fox's account of the persecution in the diocese of Lincoln is rather startling.

“Therefore let us search the Scriptures, where the little infant hath milk prepared, where the boy may learn what he should praise and admire, the youth what he should correct, the young man what he should follow after, the aged what he should pray for and seek from God, all what they should believe. In that unexhausted treasury men may find piety, women may learn modesty, widows devotion, the wealthy liberality, the poor a consolation for their poverty. In Scripture, kings may find what they ought to do in the affairs of government, priests how to live, and judges the rule of justice they should hold and administer. Yea, in holy Scripture there appeareth everywhere comfort for the mourner, restraint for the mirthful, so as to preserve the mean of gladness; that which may soothe the wrathful, that which may refresh the needy, and humble the rich, and cause him to remember himself; lastly, what may bestow the best of medicines on the whole family of man. And such is the graciousness of Scripture that it is easily seen from whom it proceedeth, for it never did reject a penitent, and urges and allures each one to penance. Moreover, thou hast every-



where in Scripture faith preached and asserted, but infidelity entirely rejected; there justice is taught, iniquity is forbidden; pity is praised, cruelty condemned; truth is unfolded, falsehood convicted; deceit, fraud, and imposture damned; repentance is eulogized and applauded, peace promised, hope fed and cherished, and finally an inward gladness and spiritual joy confirmed and perfected; so that from these and the like properties of Scripture I think it very evident how truly it was said by the blessed Paul, Whatsoever things are written in the sacred volume were written for our learning, that by patience and consolation of Scripture we might have hope. Here, then, is the book of histories, in which, beyond all others, we must ever look as into the life-giving mirror of our eternal safety. For, as all memorials are so far useful as to give a knowledge of the past, and books of history—beyond all others this book of holy Scripture alone, which is worthily called the Book of Life—should be always held, not only in the hands but in the heart and the recesses of memory. To this alone I think our whole study and industry should be applied; for nowhere else than in this volume is there to be had fully and abundantly that which contrives, premeditates, and suffices for the salvation of our souls, and without the safeguard of which it cannot but be that the people must miserably perish. This God himself regarded when complaining of his people's error by Jeremiah the prophet. 'My people have done two evils: they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and hewn them broken cisterns which will hold no water;' 'they have left me, the fountain of living water;' that is the water of which he saith in the gospel, 'he that drinketh of the water which I shall give him shall not thirst to eternity,' as if he had said, it shall so satisfy his longings that there shall be no longer any among



mortal things which he shall eagerly seek and lust for." \*

xv. Hugh Latimer, from whose discourses many extracts will be gathered, was decidedly the most conspicuous preacher of the Reformation. Other orators may have excelled in strains of passion-stirring rhetoric, refinement, and accuracy; but Father Latimer was the popular man; and while scholars have gradually laid aside the theology of an age too agitated for the full development of truth, Latimer continues to be read: his sermons are the prose classic of his day, or only divide that honour with More's *Utopia*. Although posterity has taken him at his own word, and held him not equal in learning to many of his contemporaries, he had been educated at Cambridge, where he studied the school authors with great assiduity, and formed a considerable acquaintance with the Fathers. For some time he energetically opposed the Reformation, but was induced by Bilney to change his sentiments as to the motives of those who supported it; and while residing on his benefice in Wiltshire, became obnoxious to the Romanists, although still holding most of their doctrines. As he never seems to have doubted transubstantiation until Ridley and Cranmer led the way, he escaped from Warham's Consistory without any material concessions; and in 1535 was elevated to the see of Worcester, which he resigned in 1539, when the Six Articles became law, and was committed to the Tower on his next visit to London.

On Henry's death he regained his liberty, but never seems to have taken any steps to recover his preferments, which fell into the hands of one as disposed on principle to allow, as Latimer would have been to resist, encroachments. Although enfeebled by a

\* *Johannis Longloni expositio concionalis Psalmi ci. fol. 661.*



casualty, confinement, and the weight of sixty-seven years, he resumed his labours in the pulpit with all the freshness of youth, until, on Edward's demise, he was again imprisoned, and only released by martyrdom. Hence it appears that the earlier portion of his life alone can have afforded opportunities for research. Few men pursue literature entirely for its own sake, when debarred from communicating the results of their reading; and Latimer emphatically called his prison the school of oblivion. For a long time, however, he sustained a considerable reputation for learning, preaching "ad clerum" and before Henry with great applause. Some of his most humorous sermons were preached before Edward, and evidently composed to catch the attention of a child, but there is a rich vein of truth and soberness running through them all; and the general respect felt for Latimer, his singularly primitive life, and contempt of the world, counteracted much mischief his levity might have done. His style was generally that which would become a father at his fireside, surrounded by his children; his peculiar temperament prevented him from hesitating to produce any anecdote to point a moral; and when he lashed and reviled vice and superstition he sent forth his sentences bold and uncouth as his father when he buckled on the old man's armour, and saw him start for Blackheath field.

XVI. Such a witness is evidently invaluable, but for that very reason he will be so often quoted that no taste of his style is desirable in this place. Jewel is less known, yet his sermons are those of a deeply and truly affectionate soul expanding itself over all who came within his influence. They are more correctly written and more beautifully illustrated, as well as more learned than those of his contemporaries. If too many of them were polemical, and the most celebrated



were not quite free from controversial violence and severity; others combine the fancy of a poet with the wisdom of a sage, the lore of a scholar with the simplicity of a child. Thus would he

Find tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,  
Sermons in stones, and good in every thing.

“If in the little time of Moses’ absence the people forgot God and fell to idolatry, if when Christ slumbered and took but a little nap in the ship, the ship began to drown, how shall it be with them that receive not Moses at all, and give no place to our Saviour Christ, who only is able to save the church from drowning?.....and therefore Christ compareth his church to the weakest things that be. Sometimes he calleth it a vine, which, unless it evermore be propped, and borne up, and looked unto, and pruned, of itself it is not able to stand, but falleth to the ground and groweth wild. Sometimes he likeneth it to a flock of sheep, which without attendance is ready to take infinite maladies. Sometimes to a ship, which if it be not well provided on every side, if it be destitute of light, and sun, and stars, is in danger of the rock, and wind, and surges of the sea. Sometimes to the moon, which hath no light but from the sun.”\*

Perhaps, however, it is still more curious to find the great polemic shortly before his death, preaching in the following strain, and his ardent admirer John Garbrand, “a noted preacher, but withal a severe puritan,” taking down and publishing such legal admonitions. “In this case” (i. e. dying) “the good father calleth his son unto him, and exhorteth him in this manner. ‘My son, hearken unto me; these be the last words which I shall speak unto thee; thou seest in me the weakness and decay of flesh; thou shalt be as I am now; one

\* Serm. on Haggai i. 2.



passeth before another; the world and the beauty thereof fade away and come to an end.

“Trust not the world, it will deceive thee; walk advisedly; know thou shalt give an account of thy doings, for we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every body may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil.

“Deceive no man by wrongful dealing; increase not thy goods by extortion nor by usury. He that giveth his money unto usury, shall not enter into the tabernacle of the Lord; he that taketh usury of his neighbour killeth him without a sword. The Lord will avenge it, he will not bless ill-gotten goods; they cannot prosper; they will never continue nor remain unto the third heir.

“My son, in all thy doings fear the Lord. If thou fear the Lord, thou shalt prosper, and in the day of thine end thou shalt be blessed. Meddle not much with other men's business, lest thou be entangled with controversies; abhor the slanderer and double tongued. Let my doings which am thy father be ever before thine eyes; those few goods which I have were truly gotten. I have not gathered them of the tears, and heaviness, and undoing, or hindering of any.

“Be faithful to thy wife, and besides her know none other. Help thy neighbour according to thy power, and turn not thy face from the poor and needy. Be merciful after thy power. If thou hast much, give plentifully; if thou hast little, do thy diligence gladly to give of that little. Be not slow to visit the sick; whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt never do amiss.

“As for me, I have passed the vanities and miseries of this world, the Lord hath given, and the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord; he is the Lord



my God, let him do with me as seemeth good unto him. I know that this shall hasten my salvation, and that Christ shall be magnified in my body whether it be by life or death. I have not so lived that I am ashamed to live : neither am I afraid to die ; for we have a gracious Lord. I know that if my earthly house of this tabernacle be destroyed, I have a building given of God, that is an house not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens. They that die in the Lord are blessed, they shall rest from their labours. Christ is to me both in life and death, advantage.'"

xvii. Scarcely if at all inferior to Jewel in his power of appealing to the affections, or in smoothness of style, was Edward Deringe. Archbishop Parker thought ill of him, and he was an obstinate and bigotted Puritan ; yet he always seems to me to have realized more communion with God in his own heart, and to have persuaded men with a purer zeal, than most preachers of his age. There is something very charming in the following passage, whatever may be thought of the overstatement of the doctrine.

" ' He that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all of one : ' we have to consider that even in the manhood of our Saviour Christ, is virtue and grace, in which he doth sanctify us, for not only as he is God he sanctifieth us, but also in his human nature he hath this virtue and power, to make us holy ; not taking such his nature from the Virgin Mary, but making it such by pouring into it the fulness of his Spirit. And this our Saviour Christ himself witnesseth : for, speaking of his sending into the world, how he was sent of his Father to call his lost people unto salvation, he saith in like sort ; he also sendeth his Apostles, and straight addeth : *For them I sanctify myself.* The holiness which the Apostles had in their calling, they had it from Jesus Christ, made man and



walking in that vocation before them. Even so it is with us : all that is good in us, and all the righteousness that can be in us, we have it neither out of the east, nor west, but from the body of Jesus Christ, neither is there in the world any other sanctification : so that all we that be here this day, and all people else of the world, except we know perfect manhood, and our own nature to be really united unto the person of the Son of God, who hath sanctified himself for us, there is no sanctification for us under heaven. Even as our hands and arms, and other members, are not nourished but only by the meat received of the head ; so our spiritual meat of righteousness and life is not given us, but from our head Jesus Christ. And as the veins are means, by which nourishment is conveyed to every part ; so faith is the means by which we receive from Christ all that is healthful unto us. And as by joints and sinews our members are really knit, and made a body unto the head ; so really, truly, and indeed by one Spirit we be knit unto Christ : as perfectly and substantially made one with him, as our members are one with our head.

“ If thou understand not this, or sayest with Nicodemus, *How can this be done ?* I say unto thee again, pray that thou mayest be taught of God, and that his Spirit may reveal it unto thee ; for if the tongue of Paul were dumb, not able to speak what he saw in vision ; how much less is man able to speak the truth of greater mysteries ? And if our hearts cannot comprehend all the wisdom of God in the wind that bloweth, how he raiseth it up or maketh it fall again ; how can we understand this wisdom of our uniting unto Jesus Christ ? Only this I can say ; God hath given us faith, in which we may believe it, and out of which such joy shineth in our minds, as crucifieth the world unto us : how far our reason is from seeing it, it skill-



eth not, it is sufficient if we can believe it. We believe in the Lord our God : yet we know not what is his countenance. We believe and apprehend by hope his glory, yet neither eye can see it, nor ear can hear it. We believe and see immortality, yet our heart can not comprehend the height, the breadth, the length, the depth. We believe the resurrection of the dead, yet we cannot understand such excellent wisdom, how life is renewed in the dispersed and scattered bones and ashes. We believe our Saviour Christ is man, and we have seen him and felt him ; yet how he was man, born of a virgin, all the men in the world have no wisdom to declare : even so (dearly beloved), we believe that our Saviour Christ and we be one, he of us and we of him, he the head, we the body, really, substantially, truly joined together, not by joints and sinews, for that uniting I know well enough, but by his Spirit, of which we have all received ; and this unity I cannot conceive nor utter, till I know God even as he is, and his Holy Spirit which hath wrought this blessing. Thus we learn what here the Apostle teacheth us, and thus we understand what is here said : *He that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified, are all of one.\**

XVIII. When Deringe was gathered to his fathers he probably left no abler or more elegant preacher than Edwin Sandys. Many editions of the Archbishop's sermons have been printed, and they have been just republished by the Parker Society ; nor is it surprising that their qualities should have procured for them an enduring popularity. They are written with considerable power, they are well digested, and not unfrequently have a modern air, which in an old book sustains attention. He lived, however, long enough to connect the great preachers of the reign of Edward,

\* Deringe's Tenth Reading upon Heb. ii. Works, p. 153.



with those who shed unfading glory on the last years of Elizabeth. He was born in the year that Colet died, but he might have heard and remembered Fisher and Longland. Latimer he must have known, and Jewel. He lived to see Jewel's illustrious protégé Master of the Temple; and perhaps to hear of the extraordinary promise of Andrews, who was twenty-three years old when the Archbishop died.

XIX. Hooker's was certainly the finest mind that employed itself on Theological studies subsequently to the Reformation in England, and his great work is likely to fulfil the prophecy of Clement, and last until the final fire shall consume all learning. But controversy was alien to Hooker's gentle nature, and truly the pulpit seems to have been still more eminently his province; unless the disadvantages of voice and manner were so great as to mar his demonstrations of Divine truth, emasculate his reproofs of sin, and deprive of tenderness the words in season he would speak to them that were weary. Yet it is quite impossible to imagine the writer of such a passage as this delivering it tamely.

“And do the promises of God concerning our stability, think you, make it a matter indifferent for us, to use or not to use the means whereby [they may be verified?] to attend or not to attend to reading? to pray, or not to pray, that we *fall not into temptations*? Surely if we look to stand in the faith of the sons of God, we must hourly, continually be providing and setting ourselves to strive. It was not the meaning of our Lord and Saviour in saying, Father, keep them in thy name, that we should be careless to keep ourselves. To our own safety, our own sedulity is required; and then blessed for ever and ever be that mother's child, whose faith hath made him the child of God. The earth may shake, the pillars of the world may tremble under us,



the countenance of the heaven may be appalled, the sun may lose his light, the moon her beauty, the stars their glory ; but concerning the man that trusteth in God, if the fire have proclaimed itself unable as much as to singe a hair of his head, if lions, beasts ravenous by nature, and keen with hunger, being set to devour, have, as it were, religiously adored the very flesh of the faithful man ; what is there in the world that shall change his heart, overthrow his faith, alter his affection towards God, or the affection of God to him ? If I be of this note, who shall make a separation between me and my God ? ‘shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword ? No ! I am persuaded that neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword, nor death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature,’ shall ever prevail so far over me ; ‘I know in whom I have believed :’ I am not ignorant whose precious blood hath been shed for me ; I have a Shepherd full of kindness, full of care, and full of power ; unto him I commit myself ; his own finger hath engraven this sentence in the tables of my heart, ‘Satan hath desired to winnow thee as wheat, but I have prayed that thy faith fail not :’ therefore the assurance of my hope I will labour to keep, as a jewel unto the end ; and by labour, through the gracious mediation of his prayer, I shall keep it.” \*

xx. Launcelot Andrewes remained to carry on to the reign of Charles the memory of Elizabethan preachers. A man he was of varied attainments, original genius and ancient piety, eminently gifted in manner, and most striking in his selection of subjects and his treatment of them. Whether he countenanced the consoli-

\* Serm. on the certainty and perpetuity of faith in the elect.



dation of an incorrect taste, whether the weapons he wielded so powerfully were suited to other hands, in fact whether he exercised a beneficent influence on the pulpit oratory of his age, this is not the place to enquire ; but there was something in Bishop Andrewes that would come home to every hearer, from the mechanic to the king. Such passages as the following, upon Lot's wife, are truly characteristic.

“ She preferred Sodom's ease before Zoar's safety.... This was her sin ; and this her sin was in her made much more heinous by a double circumstance, well worth the remembering ; as ever weighty circumstances are matter of special regard in a story specially. 1. One, that she fell after she had stood long. 2. The other, that she fell, even then, when God by all means offered her safety, and so ‘ forsook her own mercy.’

“ Touching the first. These ‘ winter brooks,’ as Job termeth flitting desultory Christians, if they dry ; these ‘ summer fruits,’ as Amos, if they putrefy ; these ‘ morning clouds,’ as Hosea, if they scatter ; these ‘ shallow rooted corn,’ if they wither and come to nothing, it is the less grief. No man looked for other. Pharaoh with his fits, that at every plague sent upon him is godly, on a sudden, and ‘ O pray for me now ;’ and when it is gone, as profane as ever he was, beginning nine times, and nine times breaking off again :— he moves not much. To go farther, Saul, that for two years, Judas, that for three, Nero, that for five, kept well, and then fell away, though it be much, yet may it be borne. But this woman had continued now thirty years, for so they reckon from Abraham's going out of Ur to the destruction of Sodom. This, this is the grief, that she should persist all this time, and after all this time fall away. The rather, if we consider yet farther, that not only she continued many years, but sustained many things in her continuance, as being



companion of Abraham and Lot in their exile, their travel, and all their affliction. This is the grief, that after all these storms in the broad sea well passed, she should in this pitiful manner be wrecked in the haven. And when she had been in Egypt, and not poisoned with the superstitions of Egypt ; when lived in Sodom, and not defiled with the sins of Sodom ; not fallen away for the famine of Canaan, nor taken harm by the fulness of the city of the plain ; after all this she should lose the fruit of all this, and do and suffer so many things all in vain :—this is the first. Remember it.” \*

\* Andrewes' Sermons, vol. ii. p. 68.





## CHAP. II. PAUL'S CROSS.

Magnum quoddam est onus atque munus suscipere atque profiteri, se esse, omnibus silentibus, unum maximis de rebus magno in conventu hominum audiendum; adest enim fere nemo quin acutius atque acrius vitia in dicente quam recta videat.

*Cicero de orat.*

## I.

**A**N elm not many years ago shed its autumn leaves over the spot in St. Paul's Church Yard where once stood a cross, forming the most celebrated pulpit in England. This tree has disappeared like the structure it commemorated, and strong iron railings prevent their approach whose pilgrim steps would occupy the place where many a noble preacher made the old cathedral wall echo his glowing sentences. Those walls themselves have perished, and a recent fabric occupies their place; yet there imagination might have been assisted in restoring them, and shedding on them hues more brilliant perhaps than was ever the reality. A pleasure of the same kind, however, is still attainable. The presses of such men as John Day and Richard Jugge, and "William Seres, dwellyng at the west end of Powles, at the sygne of the Hedgehog," have preserved many sermons delivered there and elsewhere during the latter half of the sixteenth century, and thus enabled us to stand by the preacher's side in that ample pulpit with his friends, look round upon the congregation with his eyes, ob-



serve the age in which he lived as he did, admire its excellences, bewail its defects, and denounce its crimes.

Perhaps, without supposing him excessively fastidious, one so situated might find his place, superior as it was to that occupied by the mass of the congregation, rather interesting than pleasant. He would stand in the midst of the chief burying place of the metropolis, and if an epidemic happened to be raging, the fresh broken ground on every side would give evidence of its presence. Other senses beside the sight might be assailed. "I do marvel," said Latimer, "that London, being so rich a city, hath not a burying-place without, for no doubt it is an unwholesome thing to bury within the city, specially at such a time when there be great sicknesses and many die together. I think verily that many a man taketh his death in Paul's Church-yard, and this I speak of experience, for I myself, when I have been there in some mornings to hear sermons, have felt such an ill-favoured, unwholesome savour, that I was the worse for it a great while after, and I think no less but it is the occasion of much sickness and diseases." \*

II. It was a pity that the impressiveness of such a spot should have been so dearly paid for in its nuisances ; for the house of God standing among the graves of men is a beautiful type of his church in a world of death and darkness. The site of Paul's Cross often suggested a striking illustration to a preacher. "The audience of the dead bodies under your feet," cried one, "is as great, and greater—as good, and better than you !" But if we are unable to realize the latter feeling, we shall not suffer from the former inconvenience, while endeavouring to "re-people with the past," and watch one interesting area from the commencement to the conclusion of the Reformation ; from the time

\* Third Sunday in Advent.



when John Soule the aged Carmelite lectured to throngs of regular and secular clergy on the Epistles of St. Paul, and died leaving the character of a most pious and religious Father, until Whitgift resigned his primacy to an abler Prelate, and died with the prayer upon his soul "*Pro ecclesia Dei.*" This will enable us to observe such men as Dr. Standish, when he opened the great question of papal supremacy, by maintaining against Abbot Keyderminster that the clergy ought not to be exempt from the operation of the criminal and civil law; or when that controversy was ended for a while, hear Tonsal, who afterward suffered much to revive it, denounce that claim of the Pontiff as a blasphemous usurpation of Christ's office. His sermon was rendered more interesting by a fragment of his own personal history. "I saw, myself being then present, thirty-three years ago when Julius then Bishop of Rome, stood on his feet and one of his chamberlains held up his skirt, because it stood not, as he thought, with his dignity that he should do it himself, that his shoe might appear whilst a nobleman of great age did prostrate himself upon the ground, and kissed his shoe, which he stately suffered to be done as of duty. Where methought I saw Cornelius the centurion, captain of the Italian band, spoken of in the tenth chapter of the Acts, submitting himself to Peter, and much honouring him; but I saw not Peter there to take him up and bid him rise, saying, 'I am man as thou art,' as St. Peter did say to Cornelius. So that the Bishops of Rome admitting such adoration due unto God, do climb up above the heavenly clouds, that is to say, above the Apostles sent into the world by Christ, to water the earthly and carnal hearts of men by their heavenly doctrine of the word of God." \*

The controversial discourses of this period must have

\* Tonsal's Serm. on Palm Sunday, 1538.



been very racy at times: as, for instance, when Dr. Barnes attacked the Bishop of Winchester for a sermon he had preached in Lent, 1541. "In the process of which sermon he proceeding and calling out Stephen Gardiner by name to answer him, alluded in a pleasant allegory to a cockfight, terming the said Gardiner to be a fighting cock, and himself another; but the Garden cock he said lacked good spurs," [a very sad mistake, as poor Barnes found] "objecting, moreover, to the said Gardiner, and opposing him in his grammar rules: thus saying, that if he had answered him in the schools so as he had there preached at the Cross he would have given him six stripes; declaring, furthermore, what evil herbs this Gardiner had set in his garden." \*

III. The following reign furnished stormier doings at the Cross than that of Henry VIII.; we might visit it when Boner is preaching a sermon bespoken by the government, and interrupted by a royal mandate to announce victory over the Norfolk rebels, (who had continued their revolt, notwithstanding Dr. Parker's sermon in the tree,) while Hooper and William Latimer stand by, rejoicing to see him baffled and unable to regain the thread of his discourse when the shouting had subsided, and treasuring up matter for his accusation before the council; or when Hooper himself is occupying the pulpit, pouring out his fervent soul against collective popery, and Boner, his auditor, has risen up in wrath and hurries from the assembly, content, as he said, to leave his bishoprick, but indignant that his alienated flock should be poisoned with such heretical instruction; "Three things I have, to wit," said the bishop to the commissioners, "a small portion of goods, a poor carcass, and mine own soul; the two first ye may take, though unjustly, to you, but as for my soul, ye get it not." †

\* Fox, 1169.

† Fox, 1416.



Hooper, however, had his trials in turn as well as Boner. After uttering an incredible deal of violence and nonsense against ecclesiastical vestments, "the feathers of the mass," and enduring some imprisonment rather than wear them, with a very ill grace he gave up the point, and ascended the pulpit in full costume. "As a new player in a strange apparel, he cometh forth on the stage. His upper garment was a long scarlet chymere down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet that covered all his shoulders, upon his head he had a geometrical, that is a four-squared cap, albeit that his head was round; what cause of shame the strangeness hereof was that day to that good preacher every man may easily judge, but this private contumely and reproach in respect of the public profit of the church, which he only sought, he bare and suffered patiently.'"\*

IV. The companion of the preachers on the two Sundays of Jane's usurpation, and the two first of Mary, must have witnessed a stirring spectacle; and whether they looked down upon the pavement of anxious faces beneath, or the selecter places of the mayor and aldermen, and the double balcony at the angle of the church set apart for the monarch and his nobles, or the more distant groups of gentry who, seated upon their horses, listened from the outskirts of the assemblage, all partook of that strong yet irresolute expression which seems to place an auditory most within the speaker's power.

The partizans of Lady Jane Grey had obtained from many of the London preachers a promise to support her pretensions in their respective pulpits. Paul's Cross was occupied on the first Sunday of her reign by Bishop Ridley, whose conduct has only the excuse of sincerity. Impressed with a conviction that popery would be re-established should Mary succeed to the throne, he fell into an error, the criterion of fanaticism,

\* Fox, 1431.



in supposing that the end would justify the means could she be excluded. It left the worst blemish recorded on his character. He declared the Lady Mary to be illegitimate according to God's law; "alleged the incommodities and inconveniences which might rise by receiving her to be their queen, prophesying, as it were, before that which came to pass, that she would bring in foreign power to reign over them," relating an interview between himself and her, where some may think his temper did not show to the best advantage; but alas! where was there a priest on either side during the earlier stages of the Reformation—a Laud without his irritability; a Chillingworth without his latitudinarianism; a Baxter without his morbid sensitiveness—who, feeling himself also compassed with infirmity, could compassionate them that were out of the way!

Ridley was a favourite at the Cross; but there was so little sympathy of the people with Lady Jane, whom all regarded as a puppet in the hands of Northumberland, that he might have taken up that nobleman's ominous words: "The people press to us, but not one of them saith God speed you." Rogers, the next Sunday's preacher, was not a likely man to learn prudence from his predecessor: it is therefore but reasonable to believe that he did not coincide with him in opinion. He never touched upon the disputed succession, but "entreated very learnedly upon the gospel of the same day." It was no sermon to curry favour however, for he adhered not so closely to the exposition as to prevent him in "godly and vehement" wise from "confirming such true doctrine as he and other had there taught in King Edward's days, exhorting the people constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of all pestilent popery, idolatry, and superstition." Rogers probably symbolized in this as in other things



with Hooper, whose exertions in behalf of Mary were indefatigable. Both had their reward, verifying the observation of Dyos on Paul's Cross preachers, that they were like Christ sitting in a ship, while the hearers stood on dry land, "for when any sudden storm of persecution ariseth for the gospel on the sea of this world," they would be sure to suffer first.\*

v. A very different strain was heard when Mary's claims were once acknowledged. On the 13th of August, Gilbert Bourn, a canon of the same church, but widely opposed in sentiment to Rogers, advocated the measures which it was now evident that Mary intended to adopt, and defended the character of Boner, then restored to the bishopric of London. Four years ago, preaching from that spot on the gospel of the day, the very gospel that himself was expounding, his venerable diocesan had uttered those faithful words for which sectarian cruelty had cast him into the dungeons of the Marshalsea. His altered appearance attested the nobleness with which he earned the character of a confessor, and several parts of Boner's defence before the commissioners on that occasion were such as might be expected to tell well on a mixed audience; but the thing was a failure. Murmurs arose; the mayor's call for silence was unheeded; women and boys first resorted to violence, but the contagion spread, and seized the citizens and clergy; caps were thrown up, and stones cast at the preacher. Several persons appear to have been, as was customary, in the pulpit along with him; among others, John Bradford. Bourn and his brother implored him, for Christ's passion, to stand forward; but while Bradford was in the act of complying, some infuriate zealot threw a dagger at the preacher, which

\* Dyos at Paul's Cross, in 1579. Stow, b. i. p. 257, hints that danger impended over hearers too; "a stripling was whipped about London, and about Paul's Cross, for speaking against the Bishop that preached there the Sunday before."



caught the Reformer's sleeve. This circumstance gave a turn to the popular ferment; cries arose of Bradford! Bradford! God save thy life! "Mildly, Christianly, and effectuously," he soothed the excited populace, and finally, in company with Rogers and the Lord Mayor, escorted the obnoxious preacher to St. Paul's school-house.

His conduct, however, found favour with neither party. "Men," says Fox, "which yet remained behind, grieved not a little in their minds to see that so good a man should save the life of such a popish priest. One gentleman said these words, 'Ah, Bradford! Bradford! thou savest him that will help to burn thee! I give thee his life. Were it not for thee I would run him through.' During the following week, precautions were taken for the security of future preachers. Two hundred of the queen's guard were appointed to surround the pulpit. The rector of a city church and a barber were pilloried and lost their ears for their part in the late disturbance. Apprentices were forbidden to bear arms at the Cross, and principals declared by proclamation responsible for their dependents. Lest these measures should thin the congregation that usually assembled, the mayor and aldermen were required to attend. The nobility lent their presence; and Dr. Watson, a chaplain of Gardiner's, pursued the theme of Bourne's interrupted discourse in safety."

Whatever the sermon in this case may have been, it was preached by a man of no ordinary abilities and learning, familiar with Christian antiquity, and dexterous in argument. One who shortly afterwards delivered two discourses in another place, which were long considered as triumphant refutations of the reformed principles; the second of these contained a passage which furnished the model for a similar retort in the most celebrated sermon of the following reign. "Finally,



considering the promises of Christ to his church, that he will be with them to the world's end, and that the Holy Ghost shall lead them into all truth, then may we justly say, that if this our faith be an error, it hath prevailed universally, not one hundred year, but two, three, four, yea a thousand year, and more than that, even to the ascension of Christ, as appeareth by the testimonies of all holy writers ; and then may we say, Lord, if we be deceived, thou hast deceived us ; we have believed thy word, we have followed the tradition of the universal church, we have obeyed the determinations and teachings of those bishops and pastors whom thou hast placed in the church to stay us in unity of faith, that we be not carried away with every wind of false doctrine : therefore if we be deceived, it cometh of thee, O Lord ! our error is invincible." \*

VI. When a man claims for his own opinions the absolute truth of revelation he exceeds the bounds within which all just religious feeling would confine him. Watson had dared to defend private masses, masses for diseased cattle, and every popish abuse that came within range of his discourse. Five years afterwards Jewel standing in the cross, and evidently alluding to these sermons, exclaimed, "If any learned man among our adversaries, or if all their learned men alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any ancient Father, or out of any ancient general council, or out of the Holy Scriptures, or any one example of the primitive church whereby it may clearly and plainly be proved that there was private mass in the whole world within the first six hundred years after Christ, then I am content to yield and subscribe. He added twenty-six other Roman doctrines and practices of various importance, and he too concluded—"O Austin ! O Jerome ! O Cyprian ! O Athanasius ! O

\* Watson, Serm., 1554.



Irenæus ! O Polycarp ! O Peter ! O Paul ! O Christ !  
If we are deceived, it is you that have deceived us."

VII. Such a companion of the Paul's Cross preacher as has been imagined would, however, seldom encounter risks like those to which Bourne so nearly fell a sacrifice, although when the hearers disliked a sermon, Drant gave it as his experience that "They will dissemble their revengement before the eyes of the world ; but when the preacher is gone out of the pulpit they will set upon him."\* Sometimes they vented their indignation by paper missiles—a mode of warfare not endangering life, which, nevertheless may have been sufficiently annoying. There were no magazines and newspapers in those days where a man might be attacked anonymously ; the dissatisfied hearer therefore resorted to another mode of assault, by writing down on a slip of paper his opinions upon or his objections to a sermon, and throwing it into the small chamber where the preacher stood. It may be gathered from a notice in Alley's Readings that some of these must have been lengthy as well as virulent, since he apologizes for publishing his lectures without an "answer to certain railing bills cast into the preaching place against him, by certain chattering choughs."† More frequently, however they would resort to the present parliamentary method of silencing the teller of disagreeable truths, and attempt to cough him down. Seldom can they have had the scorn hurled back upon them as it came in another place from the lips of Latimer. "I have now preached three Lents. The first time I preached restitution : Restitution (quoth some), what should he preach of restitution ? Let him preach

\* Drant's Sermon at the Spital, 1572.

† Alley's Poor Man's Library, fol. 137, vol. ii. Similar papers appear to have been posted against the cross, as also play-bills, pasquinades, and epigrams. Many of these are still in existence.



of contrition (quoth they), and let restitution alone. We can never make restitution: (then say I) if thou wilt not make restitution, thou shalt go to the devil for it. Now chuse thee either restitution, or else endless damnation. But now there be two manner of restitutions, secret restitution, and open restitution; whether of both it be, so that restitution be made, it is all good enough. At my first preaching of restitution, one man took remorse of conscience, and acknowledged himself to me that he had deceived the king, and willing he was to make restitution; and so by the first Lent came into my hands twenty pounds to be restored to the king's use. I was promised twenty pounds more the same Lent, but it could not be made, so that it came not. Well, the next Lent came in a hundred and twenty pounds more. I received it myself, and paid it to the king's counsel. So I was asked, what he was that made this restitution. But should I have named him? Nay, they should as soon have this weasand of mine. Well now this Lent came one hundred and fourscore pounds, ten shillings, which I have paid and delivered this present day to the king's counsel. And so this man hath made a godly restitution. And so (quoth I to a certain nobleman that is one of the king's counsel), if every man that hath beguiled the king should make restitution after this sort, it would *cough* the king twenty thousand pounds, I think (quoth I). Yea that it would (quoth the other), a whole hundred thousand pounds. Alack, alack, make restitution for God's sake; make restitution, you will *cough* in hell else, that all the devils there will laugh at your coughing." \*

VIII. Occasionally such a person would be favourably placed for seeing objects of considerable curiosity.

\* This was not a Paul's Cross sermon, but it is sufficiently illustrative of practices established there.



At the suppression of the monasteries, a few of the more celebrated images were broken up at the Cross, and the preacher lectured on the mechanical contrivances by which some of them were made to go through their evolutions. So ended the rood of grace from Boxley. Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, preached while the image performed, and as the preacher "waxed warm in his discourse, and the word of God wrought secretly in the heart of his auditors," the image, which seems to have been for some time previously exhibited, was thrown among the people, torn to pieces, and committed to the flames. A similar fate was shared by our Lady of Worcester, who, being stripped of her finery, appeared in the form of an ancient bishop. Long afterwards the tokens found upon papists were exhibited in the same place; and in Jewel's sermons there is one passage (not here cited), during the recitation of which he evidently held up an Agnus Dei to the people.

"Now I think a great many here know not what an Agnus Dei is, nor what is the virtue of it; I pray you therefore give me leave in a few words to tell you.

"The Master of the Pope's ceremonies at Rome maketh a long discourse of it, the sum whereof is this. They are made of virgin wax of balsamus and holy oil, they are in form like a little flat round cake, they are first fashioned by the Pope's Sacrist, his Chaplains, and the Clerks of his chapel, then upon a solemn set day they are brought to the Pope, who allobesprinkleth them with holy water, and maketh a long prayer over them: then poureth in at several times, balsamus and holy oil, making divers crosses both before and after; then he maketh many long prayers that it might receive this and this and that virtue; then being laid in silver basins they are christened by the Pope, with divers crosses and long prayers after, to this end that they might receive sundry virtues, and there is the devil



and all about them. The sum of the virtues given to them are briefly comprehended in certain verses which Pope Urban the fifth sent to the Emperor of the Grecians with three Agnus Dei, as a precious treasure, which be these.

Balsamus et munda cera cum chrismatis unda  
 Conficiunt agnum, quod munus do tibi magnum  
 Fonte velut natum, per mystica sanctificatum  
 Fulgura de sursum depellit omne malignum  
 Peccatum frangit ut Christi sanguis et angit.

(O horrenda blasphemia !)

Prægnans servatur, simul et partus liberatur :  
 Dona defert dignis, virtutem destruit ignis  
 Portatus munde, de fluctibus eripit undæ.

These be gallant verses, they run round without a fiddle. The sense of them is this—after that he hath told of what things the Agnus Dei is made, he setteth down the virtues thereof, namely—it is good against thunder and lightning ; it doth overcome and prevaieth against deadly sin as well as the blood of Christ ; it is good for women in travel, and the child also ; it procureth also favour, gifts, and reward ; and last of all, it is good against burning and drowning. But among all the virtues which it hath (and I marvel at it), I do not read that it is good against hanging, and that belike is the cause that so many of them go to the gallows.\*

IX. Sometimes again the scene would be purely ridiculous. On the 8th of March, 1556, while a doctor preached at the Cross, a man did penance for transgressing Lent, holding two pigs ready dressed, whereof one was upon his head, having bought them to sell. At others, the penances performed by persons standing before the preacher outside the pulpit, on a platform which enabled him to look over their heads, and be

\* Serm. at Paul's Cross, 1587, by William Gravet, B.D. Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, part ii.



sufficiently near to strike them with a rod, must have called up too mingled feelings to determine which preponderated. Thus, in February, 1556, Mr. Peryn, a black friar, preached at Paul's Cross, at whose sermon a priest named Sir Nicholas Sampson, did penance, standing before the preacher with a sheet about him, and a lighted taper in his hand. The man's crime was a rather too strenuous and practical protest against clerical celibacy. He had two wives. Thus also at a later period, seminary priests would read their recantations, when the rack or the gibbet overcame their constancy.

x. But undoubtedly the most interesting feature in the Paul's Cross sermons is the evidence they give of attempts at making that pulpit a mere government organ; and the resolution with which those attempts were resisted. This praise is equally due to papist, churchman, and puritan; for after every precaution by the authorities, a preacher would not unfrequently come forward and speak his mind, regardless of his auditory, though well aware that "Balaam shall never be called unless the king have some especial work for him, and if he follow not his humour when he comes, he may go home again without his charges,"\* or perhaps be sent to prison instead. Indeed, the success of the government was seldom complete where it was worth having. The men who influenced the people were men who would be least influenced to do what they believed to be wrong, and every government did not manage so well as Henry with Dean Colet.

In 1548, Gardiner was summoned before the council, and forbidden to leave town until he preached at the Cross, in defence of Edward's reforms, from notes brought to him by that steady votary of expediency, Cecil. He was desired to write this discourse, and

\* Philip's Sermons, 105.



submit it for inspection previous to delivering it. This indecent demand he would not comply with, but expressed his readiness to speak on most of the subjects indicated. On the eucharist he was advised, first by the secretary, then commanded in the king's name, not to say a word. His reply, as well as his sermon, does him as much credit as any other passage in his life, "Mr. Cecil, I shall preach the very presence of Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament. This is no doubtful matter, nor controverted of any except of a few ignorant men who say they know not what. I must also speak of the mass, upon which I think it important that his majesty should know my sincere opinion. This opinion, therefore, I should certainly utter, even if I knew that I must be hanged for my honest zeal immediately upon leaving the pulpit."

This sermon is one of the most remarkable documents of the age. It was uttered in a firm yet conciliatory spirit by the head of that party which adhered to the Roman doctrines while rejecting the papal supremacy, and had it been met in a like mind by the Reformers, England might never have had to lament the Marian persecution. Nay more, doctrines might have come to be better understood. Gardiner's works make it evident enough that he had no very fixed ideas on transubstantiation, which he at this time so earnestly maintained, and most well informed Papists would now acknowledge that the celibacy of priests is a mere point of discipline which the church might reverse without violating her trust. Of course as protestantism ran into excesses, Gardiner and his party retreated to their original position, and exasperated by persecution, persecuted: but how far they had advanced at this time is inadequately known.

XI. Gardiner spoke as follows: "Where I said of the mass, that it was a sacrifice ordained to make us



the more strong in the faith and remembrance of Christ's passion, and for commending unto God the souls of such as be dead in Christ, (for these two things are the special causes why the mass was instituted,) the Parliament very well ordained mass to be kept; and because we should be the more strong in the faith and devotion towards God, it was well done of the Parliament, for moving the people more and more with devotion, to ordain that this sacrament should be received in both kinds. Therefore I say that the Act of Parliament for receiving of the sacrament of the altar in both kinds, was well made ..... But here it may be said unto me, 'The Act for the dissolving and suppressing of the chantries! How like you that?' I will speak what I think of it, I will use no colourable or covert words: I will not use a devised speech for a time, and afterwards go from it again. If chantries were abused by applying the mass for the satisfaction of sin, or to bring men to Heaven, or to take away sin, or to make men of wicked lust, 'I like the Act well, and they might well be dissolved, for the mass was not instituted for any such purpose ..... I that allow mass so well, and I that allow praying for the dead, (as indeed the dead are of Christian charity to be prayed for,) yet can agree with the realm in that matter of putting down chantries. .... But now for a further declaration, it is a marvellous thing, that upon these words the Bishop of Rome should found his supremacy; for whether it be super-petram, or Petrum, all is one matter, it maketh nothing at all for the purpose to make a foundation of any such supremacy. For otherwise when Peter spake carnally to Christ, (as in the same chapter a little following,) Satan was his name, where Christ said: Go after me Satan, so that the name of Peter is no foundation for the supremacy, but as it is said in Scripture: Fundati estis super fundamentum



apostolorum and prophetarum : that is, by participation (for godly participation giveth name of things,) he might be called the head of the church, as the head of the river is called the head, because he was the first who made this confession of Christ, which is not an argument for dignity, but for the quality that was in the man. For the first man is not evermore the best. The headman of a quest is not always the best man in the quest, but is chosen to be the headman for some other quality that is in him. Virtue may allure men, so that the inferior person in dignity may be the better in place; as the king sometime chooseth a mean man to be of his council, of whom he hath a good opinion, yet is the king the king still. And in some case the king of England might send to Rome, and if the bishop of Rome were a man of such wisdom, virtue, and learning, that he were able in matters of controversy concerning religion to set a unity in the church of England, the king might well enough send unto him for his counsel and help, and yet should not in so doing give the bishop of Rome any superiority over the king. For if a king be sick, he will have the best physician ; if he have war, he will have the best captain : and yet are not those the superiors but inferiors. .... But now to go forth declaring my mind. In my time hath come many alterations. First, a great alteration it was to renounce the bishop of Rome's authority, and I was one that stood in it. A great alteration it was that abbeyes were dissolved. A great alteration it was that images were pulled down. And to all these did I condescend ; and yet I have been called a maintainer of superstition, and I have been called a master of ceremonies and of outward things, and I have been noted to take that religion consisteth in outward things, as though he were a right Christian that fulfilled the outward ceremonies : whereof I pro-



mised to declare my conscience, and so will I, and how I have esteemed ceremonies, and that I have never been of other opinions than I am concerning ceremonies, and mine opinion I have gathered of Augustine and Jerome, ancient Fathers and Doctors of the Church.

“Ceremonies serve to move men to serve God, and as long as they be used for that purpose, they may be well used in the church; but when man maketh himself servant to them, and not them to serve him, then be our ceremonies brought to an abuse. If by over much familiarity of them men abuse them, they do evil. For we must not serve creatures but Deo. We had monkery, nunnery, friary, of a wondrous number, much variety of garments, variety of devices in dwelling, many sundry orders and fashions in moving of the body. These things were first ordained to admonish them to their duty to God, to labour for the necessity of the poor, and to spare from their own bellies to the poor, and therefore was their fare ordained and prepared. And because they abused these things, and set them in a higher place than they ought to do, not taking monition thereby the better to serve God, but esteeming perfection to consist in them, they were dissolved, their houses and garments were taken away ... We had many images whereto pilgrimages were done, and many tombs that men used to visit, by reason whereof they fell in a fancy of idolatry and superstition, above the things that they might have been taken for, and because they had not the use that they were ordained for, they were left. When men put the images in a higher place than they served, for then were they taken clean away; as give a child a gay book to learn upon, and then if he gaze upon the gorgeousness of his book, and learn not his lesson according to the intent that that book was given for, the book is taken



away from him again. So the images, when men devised and fell to have them in higher place and estimation than they were first set up in the church for, then they might be taken away; and I was never of other mind, nor never had other opinion of them. Divers things there be in the church which be in the liberty of the ruler to order as he seeth cause, and he that is ruler may either let them stand, or else may cause them to be taken away. There be two manner of reformations. We have had of both sorts. There be things in the church, the which if they be abused, may not be taken away. As for baptism, if it be abused, there may not another thing be put in the place of it, but the thing must be reformed and brought to the right use again. Also preaching, if it be abused, may not be taken away, but must be reformed and brought to the right use. But there be other things used in the church, in which the rulers have liberty either to reform them, or to take them away. We have had many images, which be now all taken away, for it was in the liberty of the rulers, for the abuse of them, either to reform them or to take them away; and because it was an easier way to take them away, than to bring them to the right use that they were ordained for, they were all clean taken away; and so they might be. Yea, Sir, will ye say, but ye have maintained and defended them, and have preached against such persons as despised them. It is truth, I have preached against the despisers of them, and have said that images might be suffered and used in the church as laymen's books, yet I never otherwise defended them, but to be used for such purposes as they were first set up in the church for; but now that men be waxed wanton, they are clean taken away, wherein our religion is no more touched than when books were taken away for abusing of them ..... As touching ceremonies, I esteem them all as Paul es-



teemeth them, things indifferent, where he saith: *Regnum Dei non est esca et potus*. So of ceremonies. .... We had palms and candles taken away, which things may indifferently have either of the two reformatations above said. When they were in place, they should have put men in remembrance of their duty and devotion towards God; but because they were abused, they were and might be taken away. But the religion of Christ is not in these exercises, and therefore in taking away of them, the religion of Christ is nothing touched nor hindered. But men must in such things be conformable, not for the ceremony, but for obedience sake. St. Paul saith that we should rebuke every brother that walketh inordinately. I have told you my opinion, and my conscience telleth me that I have spoken plainly, that ye may know what I am, and that ye may not be deceived in me, nor be slandered in me, nor make no further search to know my heart. I like well the communion, because it provoketh men more and more to devotion. I like well the proclamation, because it stoppeth the mouths of all such as unreverently speak or rail against the sacrament. I like well the rest of the king's majesty's proceedings concerning the sacrament. I have now told you what I like. But shall I speak nothing of that I mislike? Ye will then say, I speak not plainly. I will therefore show my conscience plainly.

“ I mislike that preachers which preach by the king's license, and those readers which by the king's permission and sufferance do read open lectures, do openly and blasphemously talk against mass, and against the sacrament. .... It misliketh me that priests and men that vowed chastity, should openly marry, and avow it openly, which is a thing that since the beginning of the church hath not been seen in any time, that men that have been admitted to any ecclesi-



astical administration should marry. We read of married priests, that is to say, of married men chosen to be priests and ministers in the church. And in Epiphanius we read, that some such for necessity were winked at. But that men being priests already, should marry, was never yet seen in Christ's church from the beginning of the apostles' time. I have written in it and have studied for it, and the very same places that are therein alleged to maintain the marriage of priests, being diligently read, shall plainly confound them that maintain to marry your priests, or at the farthest within two lines after."

XI. Such were the doctrines which the Bishop of Winchester declared, and expiated his candour by a long imprisonment. To follow up the subject would engross a volume, or to compare the catholicism Edward left, with what he found. It is curious however among other things, to hear Gardiner approving, and Latimer disapproving, the dissolution of monasteries. Whatever other results that measure may have had, the shock it sent through the whole ecclesiastical system, and the violent oscillations of religious opinion afterwards, made the metropolitan pulpit a post which competent men hesitated to occupy, and weak men disgraced; while none but the most subservient would endure that kind of secular dictation, which, extended at times to churchmen of the highest rank, was unscrupulously employed on the inferior clergy. About 1544, Boner writes to Parker, then Vicechancellor of Cambridge, in terms of urgent remonstrance, stating that "contrary to the accustomed usage of that university, there had not of late been many at Paul's Cross to preach the word of God to the edifying of the king's subjects and the honour of the said university, beside the exercise of themselves, and the demonstration of their learning....." "I promise you,"



he continues, "I take it strangely that they have not heretofore more often come." Ridley found equal difficulty in obtaining good supplies, and strange as it now seems to find him and Boner resorting to the same person for a preacher, he also entreated Parker to assist him, and his letter, penned in a rather different style, gives a lively picture of his embarrassments. "Sir, I pray you refuse me not a day at the Cross. I may have, if I would call without any choice, enough; but in some, alas, I desire more learning, in some a better judgment, in some more virtue and godly conversation, and in some more soberness and discretion."\* It is not hard to guess the sort of answers that may have been returned to such invitations by good and retiring men, who were not speculating for a mitre. Few preachers can have had voice enough for the situation; fewer sufficient self-command to preach without book to people who were evidently using the area beneath them as a lounge, and fewest whose overpowering oratory could still the tumult, and bid—

"fools who came to scoff remain to pray."

"There is no place," says Anthony Anderson, "so egregiously polluted as the church of Paul's, or HIS word more contemned in any place. What meaneth else that accustomed walking and profane talking in time of the sermon there?" † Dyos also laments how they grudged the preacher his customary hour.

XII. If men of old had any of the feelings of their fellow mortals at the present, such a pulpit would not be easily supplied; and about the middle of the fifteenth century there seems to have been considerable difficulty, not only from the reluctance of the preachers, but the contending opinions of those who had power to obtain their appointment. How far this embarrassed

\* Life of Parker, v. i. p. 34. 58. † Serm. at P. C. 1581.



the Bishops of London, and how far it was shared by others, it is not easy at present to determine. In Dean Colet's time, the pulpit seems to have been entirely under his management, as he established a sermon every Sunday at the Cross. This, however, may have been exclusive of the Lent sermons, since Cranmer evidently felt himself authorised to appoint any one he pleased on those occasions, and Parker sustained the whole odium of any failures. The practice of the latter archbishop was to obtain from the secretary a list of such preachers as he thought would be agreeable to the queen; a necessary precaution, for if she disliked any she would stay away, and thus cast a slur upon him, which was greatly dreaded. These lists the primate revised, and after altering such names as he considered unfit, either from incompetence or fanaticism, he wrote to the parties in question, sending the appointment, and also, warned by an unfortunate disappointment on one occasion, provided a few supernumeraries who would take a turn in case of any accident. After all, an order from the council seems to have set aside any previous arrangements, so that men penally detained in London for the most factious resistance to their ecclesiastical superiors might be heard preaching at the Cross in the metropolitan's teeth. The confusion in this important matter was sometimes incredible. While Samson and Humphrey were in London, in 1564, kept in attendance by the council on charges of obstinate irregularity, and on the point of deprivation and imprisonment, their names appeared in the list of Paul's Cross preachers! The queen desired the secretary to strike them off, supposing them to have been nominated by him, but he knew no more about it than the archbishop, but supposed the Bishop of London or the lord mayor had put them in. It turned out, however, that none of the four had made any such



nomination. They had been appointed by the Earl of Leicester, and, as it was discovered too late to provide substitutes, both made their appearance! The same kind of thing occurred in 1573. Bishop Sandys appointed Crick,\* a chaplain of the Bishop of Norwich, who had preached well and soberly the preceding year, but then spent his hour in defending Cartwright's book of discipline. Wake, of Christchurch, Oxford, was similarly selected, and having made the bishop's chancellor an ambiguous promise not to defend the holy discipline, poured forth an invective against the church, and escaping, sheltered himself under the privileges of the university.

XIII. But enough—We have wandered among these memorials of the past like pilgrims in the ruined Forum, and listened for voices of the dead who taught our ancestors. If thus we have been enabled any better to realize the circumstances in which Papist and Protestant stood during the Reformation, we shall have made some progress towards a just estimate of their characters. Advancing, we shall find few heroes on either side, but many good and worthy men. Few devils, but many whose hearts were not right in the sight of God, and whose party zeal was maddened by private injuries. If time has encircled the actors in these scenes with a fictitious glory, it will gradually disappear as we approach them; they will speak to our feelings in the familiar tone of fellow mortals, and we shall not grow thankless for our present advantages, because there was an age of gold.

\* He reckoned to have some reflections made upon him in their sermons before her majesty. Str. Parker, ii. 41. The wretches boasted that calmly as he could dine after hearing "even song or prick-song," they could spoil his appetite with their sermons.—See Dialogue between a Soldier of Barwick and an English chaplain.





## CHAPTER III.

EDUCATION AND PREFERMENTS OF THE PAROCHIAL  
CLERGY.

And this figure he added yet thereto,  
That if gold ruste, what should iron do ;  
And if a priest be vile in whom we trust,  
No wonder is a lewed man to rust.

*Chaucer.*

## I.

COLLIER'S severe review of Elizabeth's reign,\* to which Bishop Burnet's indignation gave a temporary notoriety, is, in fact, equally applicable to that of her more amiable brother. He observes of the ecclesiastical proceedings of the royal sisters, that one consumed the bodies, the other the benefices of the clergy ; but since good men are more easily replaced than good livings, it is questionable at least which did most permanent injury to the interests of religion. Indeed, although illustrious names are found among the prelates and dignitaries of both reigns, perhaps there never was an age in which parochial cures were more selfishly and recklessly bestowed. Even the late exiles and confessors seem to have caught the contagion, and given the cure of souls to those who were ill qualified to undertake it. The headship of

\* Collier, vol. ii. p. 670.



the church was asserted with extreme latitude by these princes; to them, therefore, both clergy and people appealed for a remedy; but they were involved in the same criminality with inferior patrons, and it was of course impossible for kings who decimated bishoprics, to punish nobles who merely ground down parish priests. The chief apology for their conduct was this—they were rather apt scholars than original masters in the art of desecration, who attained proficiency just as their instructors began to doubt the soundness of their own theory.

II. It very early became a settled opinion, that the wealth of the clergy was one of the chief things that required reforming. Evils in themselves most serious, are seldom those which drive nations to rebellion. While our monarchs confined themselves to imprisoning the persons, or even cutting off the heads, of refractory subjects, none presumed to dispute their will; but when they required from each man a few more pounds or shillings than he wished to give, or in a manner he disapproved, repeatedly has the country risen in arms and vindicated the rights of avarice. Much the same has been the case in religious revolutions. It has not been the most important abuse that has brought on the crisis. The declamations of Mendicant Friars against the monks, of Lollards against lordly bishops,—the refusal of a citizen to pay a mortuary fee, and the refusal of the clergy to pay an impost to the pope, had at least as much influence on events that followed as the promulgation of any doctrine whatever opposed to the more ruinous corruptions of the Romish church. In truth, the exhibitions going forward before the first reformers' eyes were eminently calculated to confuse their ideas. Nothing was more evident than the ignorance and superstition of the popular creed, and its obvious consequences,



that numbers, confiding in observances to which undue importance had been attached, neglected to examine their hearts with sufficient care, and work out their own salvation by means more effectual than indulgences and pilgrimages. "Some redeemed for money great plenty of indulgences from Rome, and he that had the greatest plenty of them to be cast with him into his grave when he was buried (which I myself have seen done), was counted the best prepared for death. Some of those that have been learned (and more was the pity), have died in an observant or gray friar's cowl, and afterwards been buried in the same, and so thought themselves well prepared."\* It was too much to expect that zealous men witnessing this should pause to institute a cold inquiry, whether they perished for their errors, or perished through them. When men and women were spending their money on what they considered as plenary pardons for past, present, and future sin, or travelling in licentious crowds from one end of the kingdom to the other, to kneel before some popular image, it was no time to deliberate whether such conduct was fully sanctioned by school divinity, or amounted to strict idolatry. Any method of destroying such a system seemed consecrated, and one of the most obvious was to cut down the personal importance of the dignitaries who countenanced such things. The state of Wolsey, for instance, was a tempting theme—the contrast between him and his master, Christ—his predecessors, the apostles. If, as seems most probable, the church actually held about a fifth of the whole property of the country, the bad effects of such an incubus on the zeal of the spirituality and the industry of the laity must have been equally apparent. Meanwhile, an important sect, not altogether free from the imputation of keep-

\* Grindal's Serm. 1564.



ing in view the pecuniary profits of loud religious profession, had long maintained that churchmen ought to hold no property whatever. To their lessons some of the first reformers lent a partial, but truly honest ear; believed in earnest that church dignities were anti-christian, and encountered any danger rather than refrain from saying so. Aided by such allies, Henry ventured to slay one of his noblest prelates, to disperse the religious fraternities, and seize their vast possessions. Some were staggered at both these proceedings, but most, and among them, as we have already seen, many eminent papists, applauded the latter measure.

III. While Henry reigned, however, learning did not generally go unrewarded. A fair scholar himself, he encouraged scholars, such at least as kept pace with his own theological opinions; and the preferments of the country were fully adequate, up to the time of his demise, to reward all the talent of the Universities. Still, many of those best qualified to judge saw a shadow advancing which they resolved should not fall upon their children. After the accession of Edward, fewer youths were brought up to the church, and they came not from the nobility and gentry as before. No royal wards were sent to either university.\* A gentleman would as soon think of educating his son for the church, as a rich dissenter of the present day making his, a dissenting preacher. The cause and effect of this change was a severance of interests between the patrons of livings and their incumbents, which made itself felt in the succeeding reign. Formerly, their sons and nephews had officiated at their altars, and been provided for by presentations, which now they bestowed upon their dependents, their stewards, grooms, and huntsmen. The hawk was mewed on the rood skreen, and the income divided with

\* Latimer's 4th Serm.



various inequality between the giver and receiver. The consequence was, that while the church had enough to give, her ministers were miserably provided for, or left quite destitute. Some hedge priest read the service, if it was read at all, and itinerant preachers, sent by the bishops or the government, posted on horseback from village to village, and too often forgot the sacred themes of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, to execute the more immediate purpose of their errand, declaim against popery, and instil the principle of passive obedience.

iv. It was well for the church that all this personal suffering was felt, and this spiritual destitution witnessed, by men who had both power and opportunity to complain of them; for what the press is in our days, the pulpit was in theirs. When the bystanders observed that John Knox came forth nothing daunted after a stormy interview with the Queen of Scots, he replied, "Why sould the plesing face of a *gentilwoman* afray me? I have luiked in the faces of mony angry *men* and yit have not been affrayed above measour." So Rogers and some other conspicuous reformers, who had remonstrated with Henry on the spoliation of abbeyes, might say with respect to their bold sermons before Edward VI. Latimer was one of these, who never feared the face of man; yet his great regard for the young king may have made him think it rather a misfortune of the times than a crime of the government, that the clergy were ill provided for, ignorant, and depraved. He tells some racy stories on the subject.\* The bell, for instance, that had been so many years without its clapper, lashes the ignorance of the new "sumpsimus" priests as well as the old "mumpsimus," and deplores the avarice which drove men, whose presence he considered desirable, abroad for

\* Latimer's 4th Serm.



“lack of entertainment.” But it never seems to have struck him that the king, whose will he would represent as law, whose youth it was the system of all his party to regard as not interfering with his right to be obeyed, was personally responsible for all this, or that the guilt lay upon the government wherever that existed. Bernard Gilpin saw the matter in a clearer light. A single sermon alone remains to us of “the Apostle of the North.” He was summoned to preach before the king at Greenwich, and adverted with much vehemence to the oppression of the clergy and decay of the Universities in his discourse. Although a mere parish priest himself, his evidence was most unexceptionable. Early in life, his relative, Bishop Tonsal, would have raised him to the rank his talents, and still more his piety, deserved; but, from first to last, he declined any higher station, and was happy enough to keep his place in a good living, with a good conscience and a truly enviable fame. He breaks out in words however which never reached the royal ear.\*

“I dare say if such a monster as Dervel Gatheren, the idol of Wales, burnt at Smithfield, could have been well conveyed to come to set his hand to a bill, to let the patron take the greatest part of the profits, he might have had a benefice. With these men it skilleth not if he never opened a bible—so much the meeter for their purpose as he is not able to speak against their abuses, but will suffer them to sleep in their sins . . . . . Even so Jeroboam made priests of his own

\* It appears, however, that Edward was no great sermon hearer himself. Hooper (7th Serm.) wishes it would “please you to command more often to have sermons before your majesty. It will not be a little help to you, if they are well made, well borne away, and well practised: and seeing there are in the year eight thousand seven hundred and sixty hours, it shall not be much for your highness, no, nor for all your household, to bestow fifty-two of them in the year to hear the sermons of God.”



for his hill altars, to sacrifice to his calves, that the people should not go up to Jerusalem; these Jeroboams will never let the people ascend to Jerusalem to find Christ in the temple of his word. Your grace may find where these gentlemen keep in their hands livings of forty or fifty pounds, and giveth one that never cometh there, five or six pounds. Your noblemen reward servants with livings appointed for the gospel. Certainly I marvel that God holdeth his hand, that he destroyeth them not with Nadab and Abihu.

..... Look at the two wells of this realm, Oxford and Cambridge; they are almost dried up. The cruel Philistines abroad, enemies of Christ's gospel, have stopped the springs of faithful Abraham. The decay of students is so great, there are scarce left of every thousand an hundred—there is entering into England more blind ignorance, superstition, and infidelity, than ever was under the Romish bishops. Your realm (which I am sorry to speak) shall become more barbarous than Scythia, which, lest God Almighty lay to your grace's charge for suffering the sword given unto you for the maintenance of the gospel to lie rusting in the sheath, bestir now yourself in your heavenly Father's business."

The testimony of Gilpin must be considered as relating to the north country, where "the laymen sought out poor base priests, who were only able to read prayers to the people morning and evening, nor did the one use to require nor they take care to perform any more,"\* and the University of Oxford, where he was educated at Queen's college, to the provostship of

\* "I would likewise pray and admonish the magistrates to see the schools are better maintained; for the lack of them shall bring blindness into this church of England again. And such as are the patrons and givers of benefices, let them take heed they give and bestow them upon worthy men, and sell them not to asses, and blind blockheaded fellows."—Hooper's 5th Serm.



which he was elected, and with which he maintained a constant intercourse. The testimony of Lever, of St. John's College, Cambridge, to the state of the University and districts with which he was acquainted, is still more graphic and detailed. From his sermons, delivered at the Cross in the shrouds of St. Paul's and before the king, Strype has quoted largely; still they repay an entire perusal. He was one of the many eminent men ordained by Ridley in 1550, who classed him in his "Lament" with Latimer, Knox, and Bradford. No sooner was he admitted into the pulpit than he spake what he did know, and testified what he had seen; and comparing his testimony with Gilpin's, and stripping the misery he describes of that glow with which his words irradiate it, one is tempted to ask whether these are not the very sort of men whom Satan would find it easiest to lure with some unexpected offer of rich preferment into "an exceeding high mountain."

"Fie for sin and shame! either give your servants wages, or else let them go and serve those which do give them wages. For now your chaplains, your servants, and yourselves have the parson's, the shepherd's, and the officers' wages; and neither you, nor they, nor other doeth the parson's, the shepherd's, or the officers' duty, except peradventure ye imagine that there is a parish priest, curate, which doeth the parson's duty. But although ye do so imagine, yet the people do feel and perceive that he doth mean no other thing but pay your duty, pay your duty. Yes, for so he ministereth God's sacraments; he saith his service, and he readeth the homilies, as you find flattering courtiers which speak by imagination term it; but the rude lobs of the country, which be too simple to paint a lie, speak foul and truly as they find it, and say, He ministereth God's sacraments, he slubbers up his service, and he cannot



read the Humbles.\* Yet there is some that can read very well, but how many of those be not either superstitious papists or else carnal gospellers, which, by their evil example of living, and worse doctrine, do far more harm than they do good by their fair reading and saying of service? But put the case as it may be, that there be at a benefice, in some place, at some time, gome good curate, all these somes will make but a few in number."†

"There was in the houses belonging to the University of Cambridge two hundred students of divinity, many very well learned, which be now all clean gone, house and man, young toward scholars and old fatherly doctor, not one of them left; one hundred also of another sort, that, having rich friends or being beneficed men, did live of themselves in otries and inns, be either gone away or else fain to creep into colleges, and put poor men from their bare livings. Those both be all gone, and a small number of poor, godly, diligent students now remaining only in colleges, be not able to tarry and continue their study in the University for lack of exhibition and help. There be divers there which rise daily betwixt four and five of the clock in the morning, and from five to six of the clock use common prayer, with an exhortation of God's word, in a common chapel; and from six unto ten of the clock use either private study or common lectures; at ten of the clock they go to dinner, whereat they be content with a penny piece of beef amongst four, having a few porridge made of the broth of the same beef, with salt and oatmeal, and nothing else.

\* This recalls a passage in one of Latimer's sermons, where he refers to the lower classes calling them Homelies; and adds, that if the priest did not like them, he would so *homely* handle and chop them as to make the name most applicable.

† 2d Sermon. 1550.



“After this slender dinner they be either teaching or learning until five of the clock in the evening, when, as they have a supper not much better than their dinner, immediately after the which they go either to reasoning in problems or unto some other study until it be nine or ten of the clock; and then, being without fire, are fain to walk or run up and down half an hour to get a heat on their feet when they go to bed. These be men not weary of their pains, but very sorry to leave their study; and sure they be not able some of them to continue for lack of necessary exhibition and relief. These be the living saints which serve God, taking great pains in abstinence, study, labour, and diligence, with watching and prayer; wherefore as Paul for the saints at Jerusalem, so I for your brethren and saints at Cambridge, most humbly beseech you make your collections.”

Lever did not stop without giving the impropiators some advice a great deal too good to be taken, and launching at them perhaps the finest bolt of oratory to be found in his discourses.

“Learn at St. Andrew to say unto the king and his council, intending to relieve the multitude of his people—here in England learn ye noblemen to say, ‘Here is a boy’—here be servants and retainers of ours ‘which have five loaves and two fishes,’ many benefices, some prebends, with divers offices; yea, and some of us ourselves have more offices than we can discharge. Pleaseth it your majesty to take these into your hands which have been kept for us, if now in this great need they may be better disposed amongst your people.”..... Now, my Lords, both of the laity and the clergy, in the name of God I advertise you to take heed, for when the Lord of Lords shall see the flock scattered, spilt and lost, if he follow the trace of the blood it will lead him straightway unto this court and into these houses,



whereat these great thieves which murder spoil and destroy the flocks of Christ be received kept and maintained." \*

v. The Simoniacal Patrons of whom Lever spoke sometimes met with a rebuff, and the following extract is not the less interesting, as it alludes to an unobserved circumstance in the life of Bentham. He was indeed a man brilliantly distinguished by the martyr spirit; one who, after escaping to the Continent, voluntarily returned, at the request of the London congregations, to take the perilous office of their superintendent. This, however, was not, as it seems, the first trial of his firmness. In a sermon of his, preached at St. Peter's, Oxford, in the reign of Edward, entitled "A notable and comfortable Exposition upon the fourth of Matthew, concerning the Temptations of Christ," he says—

"I know not how, but sure it is so, and my conscience will not suffer me to conceal it, Satan hath taken many of our ministers, and carried them up to an exceeding high mountain, and shewed them all the spiritual livings almost in the world; bishoprics, deaneries, prebends, parsonages, and vicarages; and hath told them, This is a wealthy bishoprick, this is a rich deanery, this is a fat benefice; they are all in my gift, I am the patron of them; fall down, therefore, before me, and worship me; and if one will not content you, I will give you pluralities. Let no man think these things to be forged or sucked out of mine own fingers, for writers make mention that the devil indeed gave the bishoprick of Rome once, and since that time it was never good; and is he not so able now, think you, to give a poor benefice as he was then to give the fattest bishoprick in the world? Let no man be offended with me for speaking that which all the world, by ex-



perience, seeth to be true; for where these ministers should be preachers, they are tongue-tied, and that cometh not without great temptation, for thus he reasoneth with them: 'Speak no more of justification, meddle no more with controversies, rub no man on the sore, let every man live as he list without reprehension or admonition, and you shall lack no living. Do you think that Satan hath not thus sworn many to silence? I have heard of divers that at the beginning have been very godly preachers, but after they have been choked up with many livings, they have had such a bone in their throats, as the devil would have it, that they would seldom open their mouth to speak any more. I beseech God give us his grace to withstand and avoid his flattering and sweet temptation. Once, not long since, I spake against such in a place where I was; and after my sermon it was told me that some called me a young man, and said it was but a pang of heat, and that I gaped for a living, which obtained, I would be as quiet as other men. I am a young man still, and I am not sorry for it; but I thank my God for it, who, I trust, will, at his pleasure, turn both my youth and mine old age to his glory, for St. Paul hath taught me not to condemn youth. But where they said it was but a pang, it was not true, for I was as circumspect in it as I could, and I have now the same mind and judgement that I had then, though a little more confirmed by the scriptures and ancient doctors; and to say I gaped for a living, it is untrue, for I might have had since that time a rich and worshipful living, if I would have taken it. But if to take a benefice should make me tongue-tied, I had rather have none whilst I lived; yet what I should do I cannot tell. I will not presume too much of mine own strength, seeing more godly and better learned men seduced by the flattery of the devil and the world. I had rather go begging



from door to door, and live in extreme poverty, than, without diligent preaching to my flock, live never so magnificently."

VI. In the midst, however, of these declamations, an event occurred which changed the views and feelings of the speakers. Edward died, and they could no longer expect preferment with a safe conscience. They were sincere men, and experienced in the abandonment of this world's advantages a joy known only to him that in times of trouble walks by faith and not by sight. Numbers hid themselves at home, others endured imprisonment, and were tortured, not accepting deliverance, some fell victims or escaped to the Continent; but all agreed in this, that want and danger were welcome, that preferments were incumbrances and temptations; and when they saw men, whom they looked upon as good and true, giving up their characters, and breaking the tenderest of domestic ties to keep their livings, who can wonder that the old prejudice as to church property should revive, and unite the ideas of poverty with those of holiness and joy?

It would not be fair, of course, to claim Edwin Sandys as an exile for religion,\* after he had exhibited himself in the University pulpit as a partisan of Lady Jane Grey; circumstances at the time were most embarrassing, still his sermon seems to have been a cautious one. Nor can it be said that he ever appeared indifferent to wealth and honour when they could be had without offence. He was, nevertheless, so regarded in his day, and doubtless so regarded himself; nor is it easy to conceive of a man thus addressing the congregation of exiles, when stripped of all his property, and watching over a dying wife and child in a foreign land, without acknowledging that whatever

\* Perhaps scarcely to quote him as a parochial clergyman; he was, however, vicar of Haversham in Bucks, in 1547.



might be his fate in this world's agitations, he had entered into rest.

“ Could we wish for more at the hands of God than, being banished and constrained to forsake all the profits and comforts which we enjoyed at home in our native country, here amongst aliens and strangers to find a city so safe to dwell in, maintenance so competent for our needful and reasonable sustentation, such grace in the eyes of the godly magistrates under whom we live, such favour and respect unto our hard estate, such free liberty to come together to call upon God in our common prayers, to hear his word sincerely and truly preached in our own natural tongue, to the great and unsearchable comfort of our souls; finally, all things so strangely and almost miraculously ministered and brought unto our hands, as doubtless we could never have found here if the Lord himself had not gone before us as it were, to make ready and to provide for us? Oh, what tokens of mercy and special favour hath our kind and gracious Father shewed us in this our exile and distress for his gospel in these our sorrowful and afflicted times! We have lost the saving truth at home and found it abroad; our countrymen are become our enemies, and strangers are made our friends; being persecuted by our native rulers, foreign magistrates have shown us favour; in banishment we have a place to dwell in; in anguish we abound with comfort; and, as the apostle speaketh, having nothing, we are as possessing all things. Therefore, dear brethren, having received these so great and rare graces at the merciful hands of our good God, I may justly, as one of your poor helpers in these holy labours, use the words of St. Paul, which in the beginning I recited, exhorting and beseeching you that ye receive not the grace of God in vain. Be not an unthankful people, neglect not the great benefit now



offered unto you, approach with all reverence, and present yourselves as humble petitioners before the Lord, and careful servants before our God; for I say unto you, as Jacob said in his journey towards Mesopotamia, 'Vere Dominus est in loco isto'—truly God is even here present among us. We do clearly and plainly perceive that our fathers and mothers, our friends and familiars, having forsaken us, he hath received us as his dearest." \*

This was indeed "singing so thankful to the wintry blast;" yet Sandys and his fellow exiles showed, when their summer came round again, some relish for prosperity. Many who had preached and written against ecclesiastical opulence as strongly as Aylmer, lived to think with him, if they did not make his candid acknowledgment, that he spake as a child. It is not in their praise these facts are stated, neither yet is it in blame. It was the course of affairs which changed opinions by a kind of moral necessity, and taught the returning Protestants an undoubted truth. Not wealth, but the love of money, depraves—not poverty, but a sense of the want of all things where God is not, purifies the heart. Most of them were preferred—some very amply; some bore prosperity well, some badly; some rejected it on conscientious scruples, but from this time they pass gradually away from review as poor parochial clergy, and only appear as advocates or witnesses.

VII. The exiles felt severely the neglect to which the policy or vacillation of Elizabeth exposed them. Sandys writes to Parker "that they had never been so bare" as since their return. West, a doctor of divinity, who preached at St. Botolph's Bishopsgate, brought their case strongly before his congregation. Veron, a Frenchman, a bold and popular preacher, urged the duty of supplying the reformed prelates, to whose ex-

\* Sandys' 15th Serm. preached at Strasburg.



istence he looked forward, with proper and ample revenues ; and the next year (1560), Pilkington, elect of Durham, “preached a sermon at court which tended much to the maintenance of scholars of the universities, and that the clergy might have better livelihoods.”

Jewel spoke on this subject with his usual power, and with an asperity which proved how deeply he felt the abuses he deplored. That illustrious prelate, it is well known, was scarcely persuaded to accept and retain the episcopal rank. Strongly impressed with the feeling that a bishop should be a constant preacher, and held responsible for the sufficient instruction of all over whom he undertook to preside, he always appeared to experience as a load on his own spirit the destitute condition of his diocese ; and he may be said to have fallen a martyr to his personal efforts to remedy it. No wonder then that when called to preach at the Cross, surrounded by civic wealth, luxurious nobility, and church dignitaries, of a temper different from his own, his emotions broke forth in the following language :—

“ Oh that Haggai the prophet were now alive and saw the rearing up of God’s temple now in England, what think you he would say ? You build your own houses and leave the house of God forsaken. Nay, he would say, you build your own mansions and pull down the house of God. The masters of the work build benefice upon benefice, and deanery upon deanery, as though Rome were yet in England. The poor flock is given over to the wolf, the poor children cry out for bread—the bread of life—and there is no man to break it to them.

“ The noblemen or gentlemen, the patrons of benefices, give presentations of benefices, either to be farmers themselves, or else, with exception of their own tenths, or with some other condition that is worse



than this. The poor minister must keep his house, buy his books, relieve the poor, and live, God knoweth how, and so do you, too. Oh, good my lords and brethren, I come not hither to be a patron for money matters. God seeth my heart, before whom I speak it; but I see God's temple by this means is forsaken. Young men, such as are of most towardness, turn themselves to be physicians, or men of law, yea, clerks and apothecaries. The matter is so used that they are ashamed to be ministers in God's church. They should not do so, say you: no, neither yet you, as your doings are, can be angry with them. They are not angels, but your own children, your brethren, your cousins, of your own affections, of your own flesh and blood, and they think themselves too good to become your slaves."

A passage in his sermon on Psalm lix. 9, on the same subject, is perhaps a still finer specimen of sober reason and indignant eloquence:

"But there be many which can say, Such as be ministers of the church should teach freely, without hope of recompence or hire for their labour. Our preachers are no better than Peter and Paul, and the other apostles; they are no better than the holy apostles, who lived poorly. Poverty is a commendable estate. So say some in like devotion as did Judas, What needed this waste? this might have been sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor; not that he cared for the poor, but because he was a thief, and had the bag, and bare that which was given. I doubt not there are many which teach Christ for Christ's sake—which say in their soul, The Lord is my portion—who in that heavy time from which God delivered them, if they might have received their life only for a recompence, would have been glad to take the pains—who seek you, and not yours, which have



forsaken all they had to follow Christ. I doubt not there are such. But for the hope of posterity, I report me to all you which are fathers, and have children, for whom you are careful, although you yourselves have a zeal and care for the house of God, yet will you breed them up, keep them at school until four and twenty years old, to your charges, that in the end they may live in glorious poverty—that they may live poor and naked, like prophets and apostles? Our posterity shall rue that ever such fathers went before them, and chronicles shall report this contempt of learning among the punishments, and murrains, and other plagues of God; they shall leave it written in what time and under whose reign this was done; or if we grow so barbarous that we consider not this, nor be able to draw it into chronicle, yet foreign nations will not spare to write this, and publish it to our everlasting reproach and shame.”

VIII. Jewel was gathered to his fathers, and no one following him was likely to improve upon his standard of episcopal duty. Meanwhile similar complaints continued to arise from every district of the island. Buckley denounces, in no measured terms, at the Cross in 1571, the giving of livings “as rewards to serving men,” or to maintain “gentlemen at the inns of court,” or purchasing them with “such a dish of apples as M. Latimer speaketh of.”\* But his testimony to the fact that able and conscientious clergymen might go and starve is of more consequence:—“I know myself good and godly men, learned men of long continuance in the University, and able to do much good in the church of God, and yet not called in any charge, or placed over any flock. Yea, some have told me that they have been offered many benefices, (as they be called,) and yet could they not have taken one un-

\* See Appendix.



less they had taken part with Judas Iscariot or Simon Magus." \* Keltridge carries this disgraceful statement considerably further. "The sickle," he says, "hath now been twice six times in the reaper's hands since I gave my first full entry into Cambridge, and many a time hath the sun turned back again his course since I began my study. Yet did I never hear of twice six persons which were called by the Patronists into any one benefice throughout England; *either known any*, if he sued not for it, to have got ought; and then if Master Simon and he juggled not together or went aside into some corner, he went without it too." †

Of course these men did not belong to the same class as the patrons. One preacher ‡ even says that gentlemen thought "their whole family disgraced if there be any of their name a *priest*, for so they odiously term us; otherwise the name is too good for them or us." Another § repeats the remonstrance of Jewel and contrasts it whimsically with the past: "This high office of preaching and ministry of the word of God is so contemned that all the nobility doth shun it, and all the gentry of this land utterly refuse it, leaving it to the meaner and poorer sort? Had they not a great deal rather that Justinian and Galen, nay, any profession, should have the service of their sons than dedicate them to the service of the Lord? And yet we see in the popedom how men of countenance and estimation are not ashamed to let their children be evil favouredly-polled, hotched, and for the pope's service so nearly shaven, that they have scarce one hair of an honest man left them. Shall not these, trow ye, stand up in the day of judgement against us?" A third ||

\* Serm. on Tim. ii. 3. 16. under the initials E. B. attributed to Buckley by a MS. note in the copy at Lambeth.

† Keltridge, Tim. i. p. 239.

‡ Topsell, p. 354.

§ Stockwood, 1579.

|| Simon Haywarde, 1582.



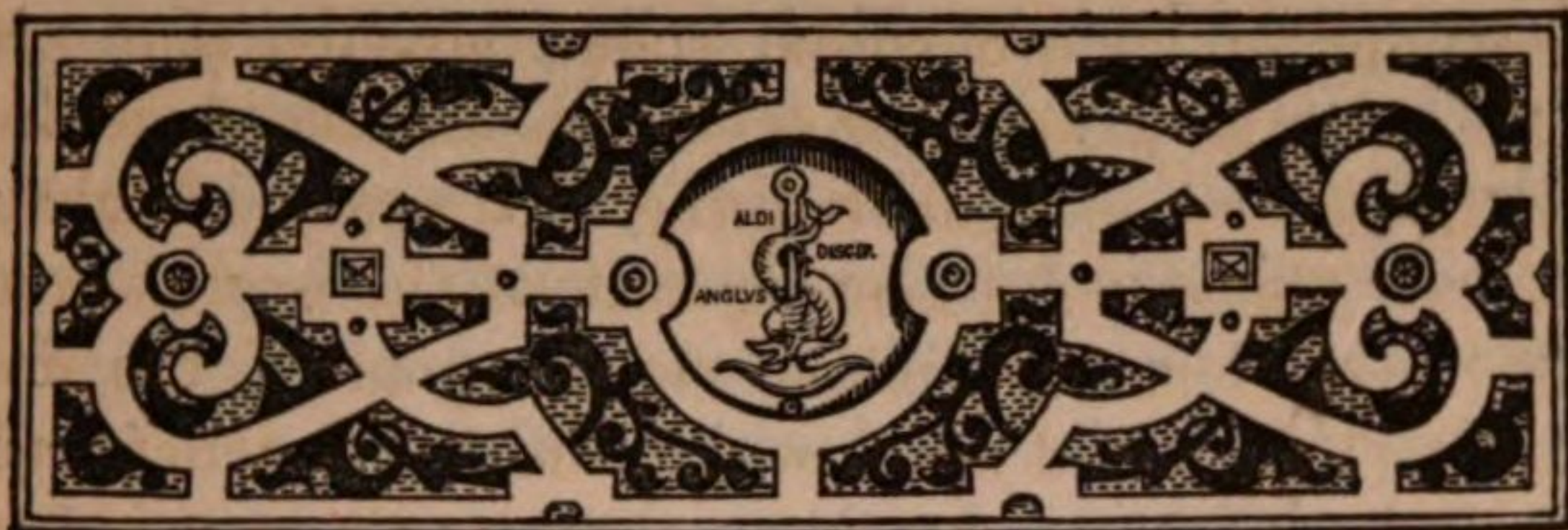
preaching at an ordination, states broadly, that not only were the aristocracy of wealth and blood denied to the service of God, but the aristocracy of talent too. "The scornful keeping back of the worthy, and the careless and impudent thrusting in of the unworthy," he looked upon as a crime to be denounced on that occasion, and took care to let the candidates know he meant some of them.

A fourth,\* adverting no doubt to those colleges at Oxford in which it was impossible to prevail on the fellows to take orders as the statutes required, combats their hypocritical excuse that "whilst they would seem to think reverently of the ministry, defraud the church of their gifts. The earth is cursed," he tells them, "that rendereth not crop according to the seed sowed."

Stockwood states the result, and puts forward the only apology which could be made for the bishops who connived at all this. Many of them had sacrificed much for conscience sake, and had not spirits to undergo a second martyrdom at the hands of their own familiar friends whom they trusted. "The churches are full of Jeroboam priests—I mean the very refuse of the people, in whom is no manner of worthiness, but such as their greedy LATRONES, PATRONES I would say, allow of—I mean their worthy paying for it; and then a quare impedit against the bishop that shall deny him institution." There was not one Becket on the bench, and but one Grindal.

\* Gervase Babington, 1590.





## CHAPTER IV.

## SOCIAL POSITION OF THE PAROCHIAL CLERGY.

And here I cannot but make this remark upon the Incumbent of the said St. Nicholas, whose name was parson Chicken, that he sold his wife to a Butcher, and was carted about London.—*Strype*.

## I.

**I**F the reformed clergyman of the sixteenth century was unpleasantly situated in his public capacity, the glimpses caught of him now and then in his domestic circumstances do not seem to intimate that he found solace in his home. The superior class was undoubtedly that of the preachers, the inferior, the resident ministers; but as Lever well observed, "Whosoever listeth to mark throughout all England, he shall see that a mean learned man keeping house in his parish, and being of godly conversation, shall persuade and teach more of his parishioners with communication, at one meal, than the best learned Doctor of Divinity, keeping no house, can persuade or teach in his parish by preaching a dozen solemn sermons." \*

Doubtless the value of a resident clergy is great. And whether the priest meets his parishioners on the ascetic or the social plan, so long as he maintains their

\* Lever, 1550.



respect, his influence is likely to be productive of much good. His family may be a model, and it is very possible that the type of Christianity there exhibited may be more effective because more imitable than that of one who remains in celibacy on the apostolic grounds, to attend upon the Lord without distraction. At all events he is justified by the testimony of primitive antiquity in choosing either state of life. "It is an old way," says Matthew Hutton, "showed unto us by God himself, that the ministers of God's word may please him in the holy state of matrimony, instituted in Paradise by Almighty God himself, the first priest that coupled man and wife together in holy wedlock;" (he supports this assertion by a long array of authorities from the fathers,) "in which old way the priests of the East church have walked and do walk until this day; and surely if the priests of the Latin church had walked in the same, albeit their worldly pomp had not been so great, yet the godliness of their life had been nothing less than it is. .... It is a new way leading to perdition to forbid a thing that is honourable amongst all men, and..... 'si non caste tamen caute,' to give a licence to keep a concubine, which cannot be dispensed with."\* On the other hand a complication is thus introduced into the parochial system. "For if the minister or spiritual pastor which should cure all his parishioner's diseases be apparently sick himself, *his wife, or his family*, either with the continual fever of scraping covetousness, or with the quotidian of riotous gluttony, or with the tertian of stony impenitency, or with the quartan of stately pride and worldly bravery, or with the hectic of envy or malice, with what face can he go about to cure any of these in others?"† Suspicions do arise however that the clergy

\* Serm. at York, 1579.

† Sermon at Grantham, by J. Trigge, 1592.



of this period did not excel in domiciliary visiting. It was an old complaint in the days of Henry, that "parsons and vicars, when there cometh a sickness, were wont to get themselves out of the way, and send a friar who did nothing but rob and spoil them!"\* and from Burton's avowal matters do not seem to have mended in this respect, he says, "we will not visit the sick of the plague, except with consent of the whole, and so as it may not be prejudicial to our public ministry."† This reads painfully, and shows that even where a clergyman was resident he was not always at the sick man's call. Such housekeeping as would be thus exhibited has little of that moral power which the parsonage exerts when its kitchen supplies the suffering poor with viands, and its owner kneels by their contagious bed, and points the way to heaven through the atmosphere of death.

Housekeeping, however, implies a house to keep and inmates to attend to it; but the former were becoming alienated or dilapidated, the latter degraded to an extent likely to interfere much with their capabilities of usefulness. The best manses were good enough to be coveted and used by the patrons, and the worst were "as the heath and barren ground,"‡ which no clergyman was likely to live in who had means to furnish or repair them. Indeed, says Topsell, "our houses in your conceit are too great for us, and in our hearts we thank God that they are too little for you; for we see many ministeries and parsonages defaced, but none built, many gathered, but none sowed."§

II. The whole of the Reformation proceeded hand in hand with the secularization of the clergy; words which may be used in a good or bad sense according

\* Latimer's Sixth Sermon on Lord's Prayer.

† Serm. at Norwich.

‡ Philip's Serm. p. 105.

§ Time's Lamentation, p. 121.



to circumstances, but here they are meant to imply that the priest's habit, his mode of life, his social relations, brought him into a closer resemblance to the world about him. Some good ends were thus secured no doubt, but it is obvious that the minister who was to be married and use hospitality, would require more money to maintain his position than would suffice under the old regime. The more the public were disposed to dispute his dignity, the more resolute would he be in keeping up appearances abroad; and the more frequently would the embarrassed incumbent soliloquize, "We are driven into a very narrow strait. The belly and the back flaunteth it out in all sumptuousness, our houses, they have nothing in them but bare walls, they are so pinched with penury." \*

When the priests rejected the habits of their order, they lost two elements of power. They lost a memento which acted on themselves as a restraint, and they lost the respect which had been customarily paid to it. The scruples of one man, and the vanity of another, both acted in the same direction, and called forth the observation that "in the new time, because some godly men have remorse in wearing some kind of apparel, therefore other some of the ministry, pretending the same, will go bravely clad like minions." † "I hear say that some of them wear velvet shoes and slippers." ‡

III. And here I must express my belief that the greater part of these vanities and this degradation, arose from the unhappy marriages of the clergy. Unhappy, for what else can have been the unequal unions into which their upper classes were driven by a combination of circumstances over which individually they had small control. Hooker's fear of rejection was no idle phantom, though in these days beauty, wealth, and

\* Keltridge, Serm. p. 235.

† Drant's Sermon, 1570.

‡ Latimer, Third Sunday in Advent.



rank might have hailed his offer, wherever they chanced to meet in an idolatress of genius who could appreciate his magnificent mind. Bishop Cooper acknowledged that "women of sober and good behaviour, were loth to match with ministers though they be never so well learned, because they see their wives so hardly bested when they are dead."\* He might have added another reason, that women of delicacy were unwilling to place themselves in so equivocal a position. Bishops licenses to retain wives, were venal for some time subsequent to Elizabeth's accession, their children had to be legitimated; and if ladies looked back upon the past, or round upon the present, or merely heard what preachers attested in the pulpit, they would find the prospect little encouraging. The queen grossly insulted the primate's wife, after accepting her hospitality; his neighbours at Worcester behaved in the same way to the wife of Bishop Sandys. The wife of a martyred bishop was living at the time in extreme poverty. What then must have been the position of her who shared the home of a mere country clergyman: and what must have been his, consigned for life to the companionship of such a female as would be likely, by accepting his hand, to console her widowhood or repair a blemished name! Surely one degrading to his own mind, and one which he would determine not to entail upon his progeny. For himself, he might be a man whose heart was in his work, and who, enduring the cross despised the shame; but if so, he must have known that such tempers are not hereditary, and if he had children, he would take care not to let them inherit their father's contempt. For what should he make his house respectable, when that very circumstance might make it enviable, and thrust him from it? † Let him but secure a pittance for his wife, and

\* Cooper's Admonition, p. 150. † Topsell, Serm. p. 128.



establish his sons in a trade or profession, or the service of some gentleman, let him leave her not trodden down because she had soothed his sorrows; and them—any thing but clergy.\*

IV. Popular contempt was indeed fast doing its demoralizing work upon these hapless families. "I see," says Topsell, "in many places the posterity of good and godly men, yea, of those that have suffered very much for the gospel's sake, to be accounted no better than vagabonds and rogues;" † and from some accounts it would seem that they but bore the characters they deserved. "I once was at Paul's cross when as an ancient and grave father preaching there ..... called to memory at that time for the space of many years before, that there had been no one alderman in all London, whose son was remembered to have used that honestly which the father in many years had scraped up so covetously. The saying of that wise prophet moved the hearts of many that heard it. There is at this day now in London, two sons of two aldermen governing, by the wealth their fathers left them, the happy and good state of that city. But if that old and gray-headed father were now alive and speaking of the ministers of the word of God, should turn his eyes to see the jollity wherein their children be, that same discreet father... could not... pick out so much as two sons of two bishops to have sat in the seat of their fathers: I speak it as in such a time wherein the Lord hath sent a rot among us, that wise men, and good and godly men, should have so lewd and wicked children. This is it I say. The Lord will have their sons to spend it wantonly, because their fathers have racked it up so unkindly. .... The world is now so proud, and the people so stately,

\* "Shall I marry my daughter to a Priest? I trow not!" Pilkington on Haggai, p. 105. 1562. † Sermons, p. 380.



that if the son of a minister be not a gentleman, the son of a minister shall be but in account a beggar. There is some in England that have good and large stipends for serving the Lord, and they spend it as liberally on their sons to make them courtiers.—Well, Aaron did not so,” \* &c. Very likely not, but Aaron had scarcely their temptations. He who gave the law of Moses, knew that a married clergy must have rich livings, if they are to maintain influence. And that the same duty which was so generously sustained by Israel of old, devolves upon every church that avails itself of their services. The bare garment of voluntary asceticism may be revered, but the poor parson, who would rank respectably, must dress decently himself, and provide for his children, or, unless he is a man of some very remarkable stamp, his influence will decline, and his instructions lose their weight. Doubtless the continual necessity to look after the means of subsistence, and the marriage with inferior females demoralized the Elizabethan clergy to an extent at present happily unknown; and often made “their hearers say unto them as Isaac said unto Jacob, ‘Thy voice is Jacob’s voice, but thy hands are the hands of Esau.’” †

v. “How are we fallen from the purity and perfection of our predecessors!” exclaims Travers (not Hooker’s rival, but a Kendal clergyman of that name), “for now as our common shepherds go not before, but follow after their sheep, so do the most part of our spiritual pastors suffer the people to be an example of good life and godly conversation unto them, and give them good leave to go before them into the kingdom of heaven; but yet so as they list not themselves to follow after, as St. Augustine of the churchmen and clergy of his

\* Keltridge, p. 236.

† A sermon preached in 1584 under the initials R. C. attributed in a MS. note in the copy at Lambeth to D. Squire.



time, 'venit indoctum vulgus et rapit cœlum, nos vero cum tota nostra doctrina ruimus in gehennam.' But not to enforce this point with any particular application for fear of offence, 'nam quicquid tetigero ulcus erit.' For ye know the old proverb, a galled horse will soon winch, and a scabbed head is soon broken," &c.\* Is this declamation? what then are Keltridge's remarks before Bishop Aylmer and the candidates for orders on "the unreasonable bibbing of those that be at the altar," "the adultery and incestuousness of the clergy," and the numbers deprived lately, and then suspended, on the latter grounds? The truer all this may be, the better it accounts for such humbling confessions as the following:

"I myself may say with Peter, when our Saviour Christ, being in his ship, bade him cast out his net to make a draught, that I have laboured, not one whole night only, but many days and nights, nay, many years, and have caught nothing; no, not one soul by the bait of the word, into the net of the church of God."†

VI. How the bishops could effect anything with such materials it is difficult to imagine, yet they did wonders; and considering that Archbishop Parker lost the confidence of the queen, and his successor suffered imprisonment in the vain endeavour to resist her interference in his spiritual government, it is marvellous that Whitgift, the first primate whom she sincerely favoured, could have done all he did. In 1584, the dangers which Parker had so prophetically foretold seemed passing away, and a less wretched clergy occupying the livings, although still extracted from those walks of society which have least sympathy with intelligence and education. He considered at that time that the best preachers were generally conformable, and

\* Travers' Sermons, p. 34. Keltridge, p. 228.

† Travers, 162.



found that of seven hundred and eighty in his province, only forty-nine were otherwise. It proved, indeed, that this amendment was too like that afterwards exhibited in the returns of Laud. The men who influenced the popular mind, whether in the majority or minority, were such as had nothing to lose, and might hope for gain in a scramble, an assertion not invalidated by the fact that various individuals sacrificed their preferments to their conscience, for party could not exist without such martyrs. Bancroft, the future primate, was scarcely too severe in his eloquent and argumentative sermon, delivered at the cross in 1588. After quoting largely from the admonition to parliament, he proceeds—"I have not used a word of mine own herein, but have been a faithful relator unto you what the clergy factions do think of their lay scholars; and is not, then, dear brethren, the consideration hereof very pitiful unto you? The one sort, you see, would bring us unto the government which was, as they say, in the apostles' times; but they would have the livings of these times: the other sort, not caring so much for the said government, do greatly urge in the ministry the apostolical poverty, to the intent that they might obtain the prey which they look for, whereby I doubt not but it is manifest unto you that covetousness in them both hath thrust them into this schism."

Bancroft's discerning mind appreciated the bearings of his age. He saw the laity without, battering the Church's walls, and the clergy within, sapping her foundations. He proceeded to retort on the lay factions he had been describing, in words which have been often quoted. They were less epigrammatic however, than a reply to the same taunt given by Burton in a sermon at Norwich: "Why, say some of these men, can you not live as the apostles lived? Why, say I



again, let them lay down their goods at the apostles' feet, and then let them ask that question."

VII. Illustrations might easily be multiplied, but enough has been told, perhaps, to show that, if poverty and contempt could spiritualize a church, the divines under Edward and Elizabeth must have been seraphic. That some were so there is no doubt: and although the uncourtly style of the returning exiles found little favour with the men whose places they were about to occupy, there was among them a considerable body of gentlemen by birth, scholars by education, and confessors in practice, who shed a halo round the Elizabethan period that any age might boast of. Most of them were pretty well preferred at last, some richly; but if the preachers are to be believed, (and although they certainly did not understate the case, their evidence is borne out by the whole current of history,) the gross illiterate monks presented to livings that their pensions might determine, were succeeded by petty tradesmen, husbandmen, and others, whose orthodoxy lay, if any where, in their attire and obedience to the bishops' orders, but whose learning was forced into them by school-boy tasks, while they themselves had cure of souls; a learning which, being confined to portions of the Scriptures, "Calvin's Institutes, and Peter Martyr's Common-places in English,"\* often made them the puritans it did not find them. To a sober, learned man, who could keep himself, the association with either class would be so little fascinating, and the emoluments of a country cure so narrow, that it required some self-denial to officiate in rural districts.

Passing on, then, to the middle of Elizabeth's reign, a change had taken place in the social position of the parochial clergy. They who had entered the church before Edward ascended the throne must have been

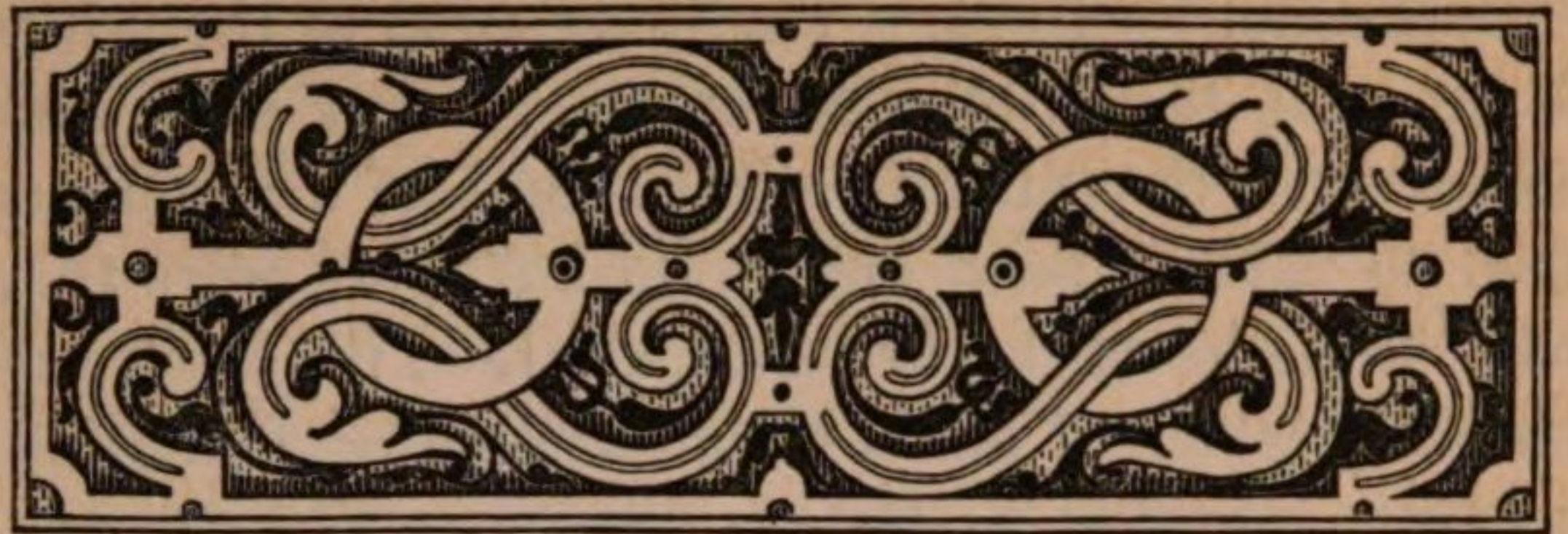
\* Travers' Sermons, p. 202.



nearly extinct in 1580. The instruction of the realm fell into the hands of a lower order; they were poor enough often to realize that beau ideal of a "minister tuned to £10 stipend and a cloak;" \* but were they good, single-hearted Christians, aware of the disadvantages they laboured under from an imperfect education, and proportionably modest; or noisy, conceited men, who made the name of puritan ridiculous at first, and at last terrible? Is it not possible, that when God sends poverty on his church, in the way of persecution from without, he makes it a means of elevating those who suffer for his sake in the eyes of men to the rank of superior beings? but when professing Christians conspire against the honourable maintenance of his prophets, he leaves them to the teaching that they choose. The priest is violent and ignorant, the people inattentive and immoral. They know he is poor, not because he is faithful, but because they took care he should not be rich; and they despise him for being what they made him.

\* Topsell's Sermons, p. 386.





## CHAPTER V.

## THE ITINERANT PREACHERS.

First I pronounce whennes that I come,  
 And then my bulles shew I all and some.  
 Our leige lords sele on my patent,  
 That shew I first my body to warrant,  
 That no man be so bold—ne priest ne clerk,  
 Me to disturb in Christes holy work.—*Chaucer.*

## I.

IN Erasmus' Dialogue of the Franciscans, a graphic account is given of the reception of some brethren of that order by the parish priest. He intimates, in no very courteous terms, that he does not wish to have his parsonage scrutinized too closely; and should they chance to observe there either "hen or chickens," to have that circumstance brought forward in their next day's sermon to his parishioners in return for his hospitality. "We are not all of that sort," replied the friars; but the pastor, smarting under former well merited castigation, told them he would not trust St. Peter's self if he came dressed like a friar. Even at the inn, the landlord was equally uncivil, and they might have gone supperless to bed, had they not, by a fortunate accident, brought from the neighbouring town a flask of wine and a roast loin of lamb. The friars, however, find their way to the landlord's better feelings, and by his influence gain possession of the church



pulpit on the following day, he stipulating that they should not abuse the priest.

II. The heartburnings produced by this system of itinerancy can be more readily conceived than described. The abbot and his convent lived respected among their tenantry, until a begging friar came and declaimed against their unpunctual observance of their rule, imputing to all the offences of a few. The village pastor said mass regularly, and thus kept up a weak and diluted light of religion in his parish; but the friar came, and if denied the pulpit, harangued on his deficiencies at the churchyard cross. This was just the method to shake men in such religious feelings as they entertained, without giving them any substitute; for to suppose that instruction communicated in passing by can have had any permanent good effect, except in rare and extraordinary instances, seems unwarranted either by probability or experience. Nor would it appear that any great attainments were necessary for such preaching. A single sermon committed to memory would seem from Chaucer's account to have been sufficient for a pardoner a century before; an ordinary friar might still go forth thus slenderly equipped. "I will tell you now," says Latimer, "a pretty story of a friar to refresh you withal: a limitor of the gray friars in the time of his limitation preached many times, and had but one sermon at all times; which sermon was of the ten commandments. And because this friar had preached this sermon so often, one that heard it before, told the friar's servant that his master was called Friar John Ten-commandments: wherefore the servant shewed the friar his master thereof, and advised him to preach of some other matters, for it grieved the servant to hear his master derided. Now the friar made answer saying, belike then thou knowest the ten commandments well, seeing thou hast heard them so many times. Yea,



said the servant, I warrant you. Let me hear them, saith the master. Then he began: Pride, covetousness, lechery; and so numbered the sins for the ten commandments."\*

III. The system here described received a check at the dissolution of the monasteries, and if *nothing* was better than the teaching of the friars, there was a decided improvement. Gilpin, speaking of the northern churches, in his sermon preached at Greenwich, says—"Some had not four sermons in sixteen years since the friars ceased their limitations." The evils of the old plan, however were curiously copied in the new; the limitor's place, when supplied at all, was filled by some licensed preacher resident in the neighbourhood, who, from party or pious motives, advocated the old or new opinions; and the "great learned man," a king's or bishop's chaplain, an archdeacon or a dean, took the position of the pardoner. Indifferent as the preachers of the preceding time to unsettling the minds of men, for whom they could provide no constant and sufficient instruction, the reformers had, however, that honest ardour which made them long to see the people elevated above gross superstition, and taught to serve the great Spirit in spirit and in truth. Few of their opponents excelled them in learning, good taste, or moderation; and although it is mere self-complacency to dissemble their faults, it is most unjust not to acknowledge that they were as good as or better than their rivals. This was very conspicuous in the sermons preached under Henry VIII., when popery and protestantism were struggling for ascendancy; and if Latimer's sermons of the cards and of the plough were composed in a style utterly unworthy of the pulpit, Hubberdin's sermon of the dancers seems more than a match for them. Indeed, if the buffooneries of Ber-

\* Serm. on 3d Sund. after Trinity.



ridge and Hill in the last generation had not made any anecdote of the kind credible, Fox's authority would scarcely suffice for his "Brief Digression touching the railing of Hubberdin against M. Latimer":—

"At last, riding by a church side, where the youth of the parish were dancing, suddenly this Silenus lighted from his horse, and, causing the bell to toll in the people, thought instead of a fitte of mirth to give them a sermon of dancing. In the which, after he had patched up certain common texts out of scriptures, and then coming to the doctors, first to Augustine, then to Ambrose, so to Hierome, Gregory, and Chrysostom, had made them every one after his dialogue manner to answer to his call for the probation of the sacrament of the altar against Frith Latimer and other heretics; at last, to shew a perfect harmony of these doctors together, as he had made them sing after his tune, now to make them dance after his pipe: first he calleth out Christ and his apostles, then the doctors of the church, as in a round ring, all to dance together, with up, up, Hubberdin! Now dance Christ—now dance Peter Paul—now dance Austin, Ambrose, Hierome; and thus old Hubberdin, as he was dancing with his doctors lustily in the pulpit against the heretics, how he stamped and took on I cannot tell, but crash quoth the pulpit, down cometh the dancer, where altogether he brake not his neck, but he so brake his leg that he never came in pulpit more, and died not long after the same." \*

Hubberdin, however, had succeeded in collecting a congregation, under circumstances which once baffled Father Latimer.

"I came myself to a place, riding on a journey homeward from London, and I sent word over night into the town that I would preach there in the morn-

\* Fox, p. 1688.



ing, because it was a holiday, and methought it was an holiday's work. The church stood in my way, and I took my horse and my company and went thither. I thought I should have found a great company in the church, and when I came there the church door was fast locked. I tarried there half an hour and more; at last the key was found, and one of the parish comes to me and says—'Sir, this is a busy day with us; we cannot hear you, it is Robin Hood's day; the parish are gone abroad to gather for Robin Hood; I pray you let them rest.' I was fain there to give place to Robin Hood; I thought my rochet should have been regarded though I were not, but it would not serve, it was fain to give place to Robin Hood." \*

IV. As the Reformation advanced, there was some slight increase of sobriety in preaching. The whole history of Edward's reign is marked by a show of anxiety concerning the pulpit, contrasting strangely with the effectual means which were taken for its depression. The condition of the parochial clergy has already been entered upon at length. It has been shown how they were degraded into a class of men generally unfit to give instruction, who "might, peradventure, partly excuse themselves and say, 'I know my fault and would gladly amend it, if I could; but I am so old I cannot preach, and never used myself thereunto;'"† while divines still remained unbefitted who could have discharged their duties with ability. But when neither the church nor the government would remunerate those from whom they expected laborious duties, it was perfectly natural that the preachers so employed should occasionally fall foul of both. The difficulty was to find thorough-going, political anti-papists, who would act as staunch advocates of the

\* Latimer's Sixth Sermon before Edward.

† Hooper's Fifth Sermon on Jonah.



king's supremacy. If they would preach the remainder of the reformed theology, well and good; but the first requisite was the *sine qua non*—it was THE gospel.\* Thus, in the articles and injunctions of 1547, the inquiry concerning parsons, vicars, &c., is—1. Whether they have preached against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome. 2. Whether they have preached the king's supremacy. 3. Whether they have declared the abrogation of certain superfluous holy days; and not till the sixth is any inquiry made as to their positive teaching. "Much harm," says Strype, "was now done in disaffecting the people by seditious and contentious preaching."† Accordingly, on April 24, 1548, "the king, by proclamation, charged that no man hereafter should be permitted to preach without the king's, the protector's, or the primate's licence, the same licence to be shewed to the parson or curate, and two honest men of the parish before his preaching." Thus provided, the preachers under Edward had powers far above the friars, for incumbents could no longer exclude them from the pulpit:‡ even the bishops were compelled to take out these licences if they intended to preach; so that some of them may have been silenced.§ The licences, however, did not accomplish all they were intended to do; and that cheap gospel

\* "Forrest Friar, that obstinate liar,  
That wilfully will be dead,  
Incontinently the gospel doth deny,  
The king to be supreme head."

Wood, Ath. Oxon., Art. J. Forrest.

† Ecc. Mem. II. i. p. 141.

‡ Ibid. p. 79.

§ In 1550, and the following year, many preachers were licensed, and the bishops who chose to take them renewed their licences; but so cautiously were these granted, that they appear to have been in three forms,—a simple licence to preach, a licence with power to licence, and a licence to preach, licence, and inhibit preaching.



which was the idol of Edward and his court, could not thus easily be provided. Just five months after the first licensing, all preaching was suspended; and the next mentioned is of some preachers for the west, authorizing them "to preach and teach from place to place" obedience "of all people to their prince and heads," in the disturbed districts of Devonshire and Cornwall. One Gregory was of the number, as well as Dr. Rainolds and Miles Coverdale. Service of this kind would be eminently disagreeable to most men.

v. In this emergency, the king devised more homilies and more injunctions. Since incumbents took little care of their flocks, "leaving their churches sometimes destitute, or putting in ignorant curates that could scarcely read. The pastors (he meant bishops) were to be found fault with," (whose powers were so hampered that they could do nothing to prevent the most wantonly corrupt patronage from taking effect),\* "and they were to be commanded to keep more preachers."† To stimulate them by his own good example, he resolved to employ the vast number of six chaplains, at salaries of forty pounds a year, "two ever to be present, and four always absent, in preaching. One year, two in Wales, two in Lancashire and Derby; next year, two in the Marches of Scotland, two in Yorkshire; the third year, two in Devonshire, two in Hampshire; fourth year, two in Norfolk and Essex, and two in Kent and Sussex, &c. These six to be Bill, Harley, Pern, Grindal, Bradford, and —; then comes an erasure. The name of Knox appears to have occupied the place, but perhaps the scheme was thought too ostentatiously liberal. Bradford's name was removed also, and the king's staff of rural preachers was reduced to *two*."‡ Knox nevertheless

\* See p. 72.

† Str. M. II. i. 591.

‡ Burnet, Ref. Records, vol. ii. p. 61.



itinerated, to a considerable extent, both in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, probably to the borders of John Rough's circuit, who lived at Carlisle, and afterwards in Buckinghamshire. Of his labours he has left some interesting memoranda. Here, at any rate, he was not restrained by the fear of any allusion people might make to his annuity from politically earning it. Indeed, he used great plainness of speech when inveighing "against the obstinacy of the papists, and affirmed that whosoever in his heart was an enemy to Christ's gospel and doctrine then preached within the realm, was enemy also to God and secret traitor to the crown and commonwealth of England; and that as such thirsted after nothing more than the king's death, which their iniquities would procure he said, so they regarded not who should reign over them, so that their idolatry might be erected again."\*

VI. Although the writer is not acquainted with any complete tour of the kind, glimpses are continually to be caught of these itinerants on their journeys. What some of them are said to have done appears incredible; and unless we are to suppose that a very slender hold on the religious truths which Romanism had disguised, satisfied those who advocated them, almost miraculous. Aylmer, for instance, "was the only preacher in Leicestershire for a space, as the noble Earl of Huntingdon can witness, and by their two means that shire, God be blessed, was converted, and brought to that state that it is now in, (1589,) which in true religion is above any other place, because they retain the gospel without contention, which few in other places do."† Whether Hooper was equally successful in Essex—and if zeal and single-heartedness deserved success, he did—it is not so easy to ascertain. In London, this

\* Str. Ecc. Mem. II. ii. 56.

† Admonition to the People of England.



indefatigable man preached once invariably, oftener twice a day; but when he conceived there was a call for great exertion, as in all probability he would consider a preaching tour, thrice, and four times would he address the assembled crowds. He did so when visiting the bishopric of Gloucester, and his labours were not, in all likelihood, fewer in Essex. No county sent more victims than the latter to Mary's holocausts.

VII. Bernard Gilpin was one of the most charming characters of his age. Having been placed in the rectory of Houghton by Bishop Tonsal, he appears to have made an annual tour through Northumberland, and the vicinity, Riddesdale and Tindale, "for in those quarters, especially in that time, the word of God was never heard of to be preached among them but by Mr. Gilpin's ministry." Once a year he made a circuit of the whole country, and many a missionary in heathen lands has suffered less privation than seems to have been familiar to him on these occasions. As at Christmas, the people were most generally disengaged he selected this season, regardless of the inclemency of the weather, for his tour; during which he gave largely in charity to the distressed, and preached every where to great assemblies of people. When benighted he would lie down to rest upon the snow, and proceed, with returning light, on his embassy of mercy.

VIII. Bradford, whom Ridley "was content to order deacon without any abuse, even as he desired, and obtained for him a licence to preach," occupied himself diligently in that vocation, though not as a royal chaplain. Bucer had urged him to become a preacher, and when he pleaded his own ignorance, replied—"If thou have not fine manchet bread, give the poor people barley bread:" and certainly he was neither the least able nor the least learned of his party.

"In this preaching office, for the space of three



years, how faithfully Bradford walked, how diligently he laboured, many parts of England can testify. Sharply he opened and reprov'd sin, sweetly he preach'd Christ crucified, pithily he impugned heresies and errors, earnestly he persuaded to godly life ;" and disagreeable enough his discourses must have been to all those who desired the restoration of popery or a quiet reign for Mary. Edward, the star of the Reformers, had set, and Bradford's lamentation over him "while abroad preaching in the country," is full of historical interest and tenderness. Knox's manner of conveying his ideas upon the times in a sermon at Amersham, when forces were gathering in all directions to secure the right succession of the crown, was equally characteristic. With a sorrowful heart and weeping eyes he fell into this exclamation :

" Oh, England ! now is God's wrath kindled against thee ; now hath he begun to punish as he hath threatened a long while, by his true prophets and messengers. He hath taken from thee the crown of thy glory, and hath left thee without honour, as a body without a head. And this appeareth to be only the beginning of sorrows which appear to increase. For I perceive that the heart, the tongue, and hand of one Englishman is bent against another, and division to be in the whole realm, which is an assured sign of desolation to come. O England, England ! dost thou not consider that thy commonwealth is like a ship sailing on the sea ? If thy mariners and governors shall consume one another, shalt thou not suffer shipwreck in short process of time ? O England, England ! alas ! these plagues are poured upon thee, for that thou wouldest not know the most happy time of thy gentle visitation. But wilt thou yet obey the voice of thy God, and submit thyself to his holy word ? Truly, if thou wilt, thou shalt find mercy in his sight, and the



state of thy commonwealth shall be preserved. But O England, England! if thou obstinately wilt return into Egypt—that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy, or league, with such princes as do maintain and advance idolatry, such as the emperor, which is no less enemy unto Christ than ever was Nero,—if for the pleasure and friendship of such princes, I say, thou return to thine old abominations before used under papistry, then assuredly, O England, thou shalt be plagued, and brought to desolation, by the means of those whose favour thou seekest, and by whom thou art procured to fall from Christ, and to serve Anti-christ.” \*

IX. The days of Queen Mary had a mingled influence on the Reformation: if it silenced the preachers at home, they still employed themselves abroad; if it altogether prevented them from giving instruction, it gave them time to receive it, to study, to confer, to settle their opinions—in short, to be much better prepared to meet the Romanists in argument than at any previous time. Church property recovered from the shock it sustained under Edward sufficiently perhaps to have kept a learned ministry, had it been subsequently let alone, and the necessity for that itinerancy which we have been speaking of was less pressing on the accession of Elizabeth than on the demise of her brother. The queen, however, liked everything cheap, and eagerly adopted his idea of a cheap gospel. Licences were issued with little discrimination to any preachers who professed the broad faith of Protestantism; and as soon as the brief silence which was enjoined on the pulpit was broken, itinerancy became such a nuisance in some districts that the most energetic reformers were forced to exclaim against it.

X. From the first hour they started on their missions

\* Strype, Mem. III. i. 19.



to the last, when they gained their point, and won their suit against ceremonies, these men were the troublers of our Israel. About 1564, Archbishop Parker preferred one Richard Kechyn, a plain good man, to some living in the vicinity of Bocking, charging him on his admission not to preach controversial sermons on the divine counsels: but to follow the orders and rules appointed and established by law, and make no variations, notwithstanding the endeavours others might use to persuade him to swerve from them. This admonition Kechyn punctually obeyed. The litany he said in the body of the church, the service in the chancel, with his face towards the altar, but so as to be distinctly heard. He wore a square cap and surplice, and lightly touched the topic of predestination in his discourses. On rogation week, too, he perambulated the parish bounds, read the appointed collects, and forbade not the poor to say Amen, nor to partake of the meal provided for those who formed the procession.

This went on smoothly for a while, until a licensed preacher named Holland heard of his proceedings, and without delay hastened to Kechyn's church, ascended the pulpit, and inveighed vehemently against his doctrine and practice. "Predestination," he said, "should and ought to be preached in every sermon, and in every place, before all congregations, as the only doctrine of salvation; and they that granted a truth in it, and would not have it everywhere preached, as well as they that denied it, were enemies to God and the eternal predestination." The same sentence he pronounced on them who judged it—as Kechyn did—a high and secret mystery fitter for the schools and universities, where the auditories were learned, than discussion in a rural district. Having thus set the pastor to rights, he proceeded to the flock, haranguing on the enormity of those women who accompanied the



processions in rogation week—an obscene derivation from the feast of Bacchus—and shamelessly said Amen to the curse on removers of a neighbour's land-mark.

This was, it may be supposed, a trial of patience. Kechyn, and many another like him, were exposed to this treatment from a man whose insufficiency might provoke the retort of Petrucio. But he was still more galled by a check from one who could claim some authority over him. The Dean of Bocking liked his regularity no better than the licensed preacher: his use of the surplice displeased that dignitary, and his mode of reading prayers; and he with his brethren were charged by the dean at his visitation “not to turn his face toward the high altar in service saying.” Kechyn at last could bear this system of contradiction no longer. He wrote to the archbishop's almoner that he was quite willing to disuse the surplice, to stop Amens, &c. but earnestly requested a sight of the primate's articles, and an answer whether he should obey them or the annually varying injunctions of the dean.\* The conclusion is not given by Strype, but it is not needed to point the moral of the tale.

XI. It was not only from insulted incumbents, however, that Parker received complaints of his licensed preachers. One who might have been imagined the least likely to interfere in such a matter, Bishop Jewel, wrote to the metropolitan upon the subject in December, 1565. In the spring of the same year, abuses such as have been recited compelled a revocation of all licences to preach; but the preachers found them, it would appear, as yet too profitable readily to bring

\* Probably Cole, of whom, in 1566, the Puritans boasted. He was now at court in his hat and short cloak, and would overthrow all their (Parker's) attempts.—Str. Parker, i. 437. It was he who examined Mother Waterhouse the witch. See Appendix.



them in. The letter in question states, "that there were certain who had received his grace's licences, and these passed up and down the country, from church to church, preaching everywhere, as if they were apostles; and by virtue of your grace's seal, he added, they require money for their labours. I will stay one or other of them, if I can, that your grace may know them better."\*

XII. If the Itinerants in Jewel's diocese treated him with no more ceremony than the neighbouring bishops received in their sees, from the same class of preachers, it is not surprising that he wished to make them better acquainted with the firm and faithful primate. Whether the following language was launched against Bishop Alley, or Bradbridge, there can be little doubt that it was a misrepresentation. The former, to whom I incline to apply it, had suffered much for the Reformation, but he was not a man of invective, and thus exposed himself to the contempt of the vulgar-minded associate of Whittingham and Gilby.

"There was of late a papistical prelate in this shire (Dorset) who, in the pulpit, cast out these or such like words in effect, that where men marvelled he spake no more against the pope, he did them to understand that he knew no hurt by the pope. If he were a good man, he prayed God to continue him in his goodness; and if he were an ill man, he prayed God to amend him.

"What words were these of a preacher! What subject is there so simple which knoweth not that that vile Italian of Rome is a traitor to this realm, who hath of late, by his beastly bulls, stirred the subjects of this realm to rebel against their lawful magistrates, and hath sought what he might, and yet doth what he can, to pull the crown from the queen's majesty's head. And is it fit that a papist which shall speak such words

\* Parker, i. 337.



of the pope as I have recited, or the like in effect, shall yet continue not only an ordinary over a great multitude, but also a common preacher, such as he is, in this shire? Such are the subtle shifts of crafty papists, and such a form or countenance of honesty they can make with a multitude that shall cleave unto them to speak in their cause, that they are able to cast a mist before the eyes of such as are to be revered, both for their wisdom, learning, godliness, and virtue.”\*

XIII. According to Whitgift this was the fashionable mode of itinerant preaching, indeed the only style that was heard with satisfaction. “If a man in some congregations commend the magistrates, if he move unto peace, if he confirm the rites and orders by public authority established...he shall scarcely be heard with patience—nay he shall be sent away with all kinds of opprobries. But if he nip at superiors and reprove those that be in authority, if he shall inveigh against laws and orders established, and talk of matters that lead to contention rather than edification (though it be done never so untruly, never so unlearnedly, as commonly it is), they flock to him like bees, they esteem him as a god, they extol him up to heaven.”† And if he was wise in his generation, he kept every sail spread while the breath of popular applause was there to fill it, and took himself off in time, “for they must either have new teachers to instruct them, always one man will be stale; they must have choice; or if the same man still teach, he must provide them some new doctrine, ordinary dishes will cloy their dainty stomachs; or if he do deliver them common lessons, he must not say that he hath them by common means, the least must be by visions or by revelations, they must be far-

\* William Kethe, 1570, Serm. at Dorchester.

† Godly sermon preached at Greenwich, 1574.



fetched, things bred at home are forbid ; or if he be no  
 new man, nor bring no strange doctrine, nor receive  
 it but by common means, he must confirm it by extra-  
 ordinary courses ; he must be one that is able to do  
 some miracles, and at the least to work great wonders ;  
 either the preacher must be new come or new found ;  
 either the attaining of his learning must be by revela-  
 tions, or else otherwise the confirming of it by working  
 miracles, or else if none of these, but that it be ' com-  
 mune sanctorum,' his auditory will not stick to tell him  
 in these days that they could have said as much them-  
 selves as this is, and that if you can acquaint them with  
 no other things than these, they had as live to hear  
 their own cow low. Tell them where they may hear  
 an honourable bishop preach, a reverend prelate, or an  
 ancient, grave divine—tush, they know what these are,  
 temporizing, formalizing, a sort of written doctrine,  
 such as when a man hears their texts he may guess  
 himself what will be all their sermon ; but if you can  
 tell them of a trim young man that will not quote the  
 fathers, (and good reason, for his horse never eat a  
 bottle of hay in either of the universities), that never  
 yet took orders, but had his calling approved by the  
 plain lay elders, (for he was too irregular to be ordered  
 by a bishop), ..... that will not stick to revile them  
 that were in authority, that his sectaries may cry he is  
 persecuted when he is justly silenced. If ye can give  
 them intelligence of such a man, oh, for God's sake,  
 where teacheth he ? To him they will run for haste  
 without their dinners, sit waiting by his church till the  
 door be open ; if the place be full, climb up at the  
 windows, pull down the glass to hear him, and fill the  
 church-yard full, send him home everything, one man  
 plate, another hangings, this gentlewoman napery, that  
 good wife money ; let him want nothing so long as he



is new, though within two years after they leave him on a lee land and never heed him."\*

XIV. If such a man chanced to get a good living while in the zenith of his fame, is it not likely that ere it declined he might have gained some experience, which would act as a sedative on his zeal, and leave him a more prudent and less apostolic character? This seems to have been commonly the case. "Many in these days," says Haywarde, "preach diligently for a time while they have nothing, but when they have gotten good livings then the fat hens lay no eggs."† "Our prophets they tarry at home, and very loth they are to go abroad, so many troubles and sundry miseries are incident unto them in the commonwealth; and verily I can scarce blame them, for if they do they are fain to go into the fields to gather their own meat (if so they will), as though there were now a dearth among them, and there their daintiest feed is but pottage. If (which is worse) they happen to gather some coloquintida, or of the wild vine, they may starve or else be poisoned. There is never an Elisha to help them, or any one (so rare it is) like unto that Shunamite commended of the Lord, that if a prophet or a man of God come by him, will call him, or appoint him a place, or make him a chamber, or wall it about, or set him a bed there, or a table, or a stool, or a candlestick, to entertain him and his servant, if he turn thither or come that way, that I might have good occasion to charge them to stay at home, and be content with their small provision; for they shall be fed as hungerly when they come abroad as ever they were when they kept their study."‡

All these things put together would make it proba-

\* Sermons begun at Paul's Cross, and continued before an honourable audience, by L. Barker.

† Ordination Serm. 1582. ‡ Keltridge, Sermon on Tim. 247.



ble that the majority of itinerants would be men who might find travelling suit them best, since where they were known, it was either as stale and worn out divines, "or as the greatest roysters, as chiefest swash-bucklers, and common gamesters," \* "men who after having taught most singularly on the Sabbath day, so soon as the door is shut some go to tabling, some to carding, some to shooting, some to bowling, and some to banquetting."† The preaching of such would, of course, tell best where their habits were least known, and strange as it may seem, orderly and sober preachers who itinerated from conscientious motives appear to have received as little protection from the government as applause from the people.

Richard Cheyney, the former archdeacon of Hereford, was one of the six who dared to defend the Reformation at the first convocation assembled by Mary. Such noble conduct should have secured him the steady patronage of a reforming government, for many stood aloof in that hour of trial, and one was gone where the wicked cease from troubling. However, not only did he remain long neglected, holding only a living of ten pounds a year, the whole of which he gave to a curate, and lived, as he said, "upon the rest," while "charitably preaching about the country;" but being absent in this way from his benefice at some visitation, he was subjected, on that account, to expenses amounting to forty pounds. Now if such men were to be thus handled by the Government above, and the people below, without the stimulus of professed persecution to sustain their spirits, who can wonder that the most competent instructors should not be emulous of the duty. Six and eight pence seem to have been ample remuneration for a sermon, but the preacher was

\* Keltridge, Ordination Serm. 1577, p. 233.

† Topsell, 210.



forbidden by the canon of 1571, to require any thing but food, and lodging for one night; and if such a person was duly obtained, there does not seem to have been any amount which the incumbent or the people could be compelled to pay. Of course, if the latter had to cater for themselves, they would procure a divine to their own taste, and the demand would regulate the supply. In either case the price would be a consideration. Meantime no care whatever was taken to place good and orthodox instructors in the Universities. Cambridge was maturing the Cartwright school, Oxford was left dependent for preaching upon Humphrey, of Magdalen, and Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, both much opposed to the forms then established in the church. For any doctrine of a different class the youth must be indebted to itinerants, and even laymen, who would have felt themselves degraded by being ordained, but had no objection to take out licenses to preach. One of the most distinguished of these—and he really appears to have been a man of some learning—was Richard Taverner, high sheriff of the county of Oxford, and a graduate of that university. Arrayed in his gold chain and sword,\* he would ascend the pulpit of St. Mary's, and the exordium of one of his sermons, which Sir John Cheke has preserved, is in keeping with the eccentricity of his costume.

“Arriving at the Mount St. Mary's, in the stony stage where I now stand, I have brought you some fine biscuits, baked in the oven of charity, carefully conserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the spirit, the sweet swallows of salvation.”

\* I am not sure that this was so remarkable as it might seem. When a mob assailed Dr. Sandys in the Regent House, “some endeavouring to pluck him from the chair, others the chair from him, the Dr., being a man of metal, groped for his dagger, and had probably dispatched some of them had not Dr. Bill and Dr. Blythe persuaded him to patience. *Fuller's Hist. of Cam.* p. 186.



William Holcot, Esq., of Buckland, another preacher of the same sort, took equal care to show in the pulpit that he was not a common clergyman. He wore a velvet bonnet, a damask gown, and a chain of gold about his neck. How far the ladies may have contributed their talents and attractions in this way, I do not know, but they were not regarded by their clerical brethren with equal favour. "Touching our women preachers," says L. Wright, "I blush, in their behalf, in calling to mind the unshamefastness of that sex, in this our crooked age. Women are taught in the holy Scriptures not to imitate their grandmother Eve, in usurping the office of teaching, neither the example of their sister Miriam, in grudging against Moses, neither such proud Jezebels as boldly dare usurp the name of prophetess, to deceive the servants of God."

xv. One more consideration is necessary to appreciate the whole amount of mischief at work in this system of Itinerancy. It was obvious enough to the preachers that the popular feeling in their favour had passed by. The world was "altered from following preaching" even in their own memory. The people were "hardly gathered, and hardly kept in their places ;" \* "the more preachers, the fewer were the hearers." Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the former should set themselves to magnify their office, and depreciate any possible ministrations of which preaching did not form the prominent feature. Had they, as they went upon their circuits, impressed upon every congregation that, desirable as able and faithful preaching must always be, it was not the great essential to Christian life—that prayer was the good man's daily bread, and the form of sound words which they were invited to join in, conveyed abundance of knowledge, able to make them wise unto

\* Topsell, pp. 10 and 118.



salvation—that the defective learning, and even the unsanctified lives, of some ministers made them no less the ministers of God—that he who fed Elijah by the ravens could feed his flock by the hand of an unworthy shepherd, and that ingratitude for the means of grace they had was not the way to obtain from God more extended advantages, they might have scattered the precious seeds of unity, and improved both the pastor and his flock. But imagine what must have been the results of such preaching as the following ; and examples of the same kind occur in every half dozen sermons of the age that can be found together, in a county where, to quote a sermon of Stockwood's, “scarce the twentieth parish were provided of his able teacher.”

“Great and notable blessings do ensue the preaching of the word.....Without this both the minister and the people are accursed. The blood of the people shall be required at his hands, because he hath not, as a faithful watchman, forewarned them of danger ; and they shall die in their own sins.

. . . . .

“For a further proof and conclusion of this matter, I call you to record ; I appeal to your own consciences which are new won to the Lord, which have some rumour of knowledge, which are called out of darkness to light, from ignorance to knowledge ; ye that sometime have been content with reading ministers and quarter sermons, but now hunger and thirst for the word preached. I call you, I say, as witnesses in this cause, what comfort you feel, what profit, what power, in the effectual preaching of the word. How careless, how profane, how ignorant, how lewd you were before, notwithstanding the daily and ordinary reading which diligently you had ! What hath wrought in you that measure of faith, that heavenly knowledge, which now you have ?...The power and necessity of the word preached.



“All and every one of these arguments prove and confirm, as I think, that every minister necessarily ought to preach, and otherwise that he is no minister approved of God.

“Are not the sins of our ministers open? Is not their ignorance apparent? Is not their idleness and carelessness known? Doth not the common sort of people see it, and are not some of them fain to seek for instruction in other places? Do not many complain of the lives of the minister? Do they not commonly say they speak well and do evil? They be as covetous as others; they have never enough. Do not the people see this, and a great deal more. Are not these open offenders? Doth not duty, discretion, and charity bind the preacher, if he will faithfully preach the gospel, to reprove them severely which give cause of such offences. The apostle useth this modestly against himself, Woe be to me if I preach not the gospel; which woe signifieth no light, small, or easy matter, but a grievous curse of God in this life, and that fearful condemnation in the life to come. Can they be too sharply reprov'd, or can any speeches be too hard for them, which are ignorant and careless in so great a light of the gospel, after so long profession, which should be guides to others?

“I exhort you to account the Lord wisest, to rest in his holy decrees, and allow his own order as best. ....Seeing he hath set down preaching as the most excellent and ordinary means to salvation, let us not say that reading will serve the turn, seeing that he requireth that his ministers be apt to teach; let us not count them his ministers which never taught, nor ever had any aptness in them. If he may be counted a lawful minister and teacher that only readeth the ordinary service, and sometime heareth a few children to say a catechism without book, as is set down before



them, then may the clerk also of the town be accounted a minister." \*

"Indeed," as another itinerant told his congregation, "Christ maketh the hearing of the word a special badge and cognisance to know his servants by." † This was doctrine which a proud and self-conceited congregation might roll as a sweet morsel under their tongue, and observe to one another with a significant shrug, "Their own poor shepherd, it makes no matter for him, God help him, poor man! he is an over worn divine, his learning is now out dated. But if they would go to church they would wish to hear a young eloquent scholar—one that they never heard before, and every day a new one." ‡

xvi. The first picture in our gallery was Erasmus's Franciscan; Wood's Edmund Bunney shall be its pendant—the one describing the preacher just preceding, the other the preacher concluding the period embraced in these sketches.

"I have heard Dr. Barten Holiday say that when he was a junior in the university, this our author, Bunney (who had a bulky body and a broad face), did several times come to Oxon, accompanied with two men in black liveries with horses, and did preach or catechize in some churches there and near to it, where there was none to do that office, particularly in All Saints' church, to whom many resorted and took notes. Also that whatsoever he had given to him by way of gratuity, he would bestow on his men; and further added that by his seeming holiness of life, and soundness of doctrine, many scholars, particularly himself, were induced afterwards to take holy orders. He would travel over most parts of England like a new

\* Gibson, Serm. preached at Ockam, 1583.

† T. Ingmethorp, Serm. at Worcester, 1598.

‡ L. Barker.



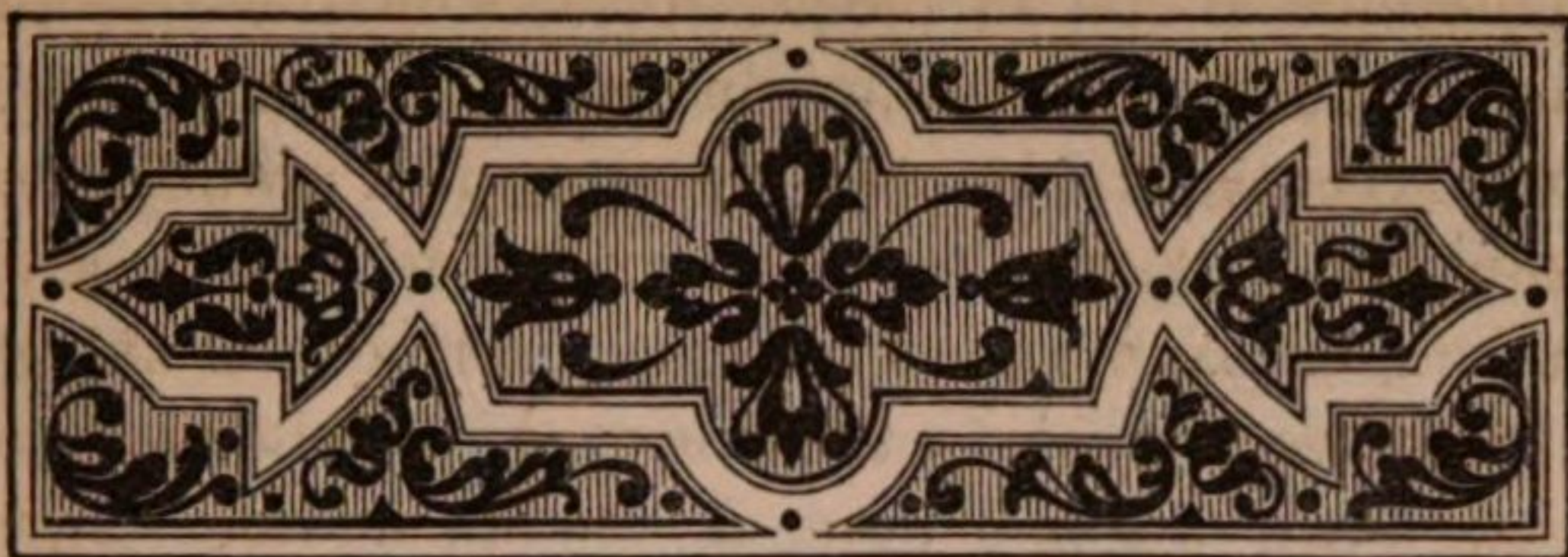
apostle, and would endeavour to act as the apostles did, so that being blamed for it by many, as if there were none to be found to do that office but he, and looked upon by others as a forward, busy, and conceited man, he therefore wrote his defence of his labour in the work of the ministry, and dispersed several copies of it abroad among his friends and acquaintance. The truth is, he was the most fluid preacher in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, for he seldom or never studied what he was to deliver, but would preach and pray extempore, as our beloved saints did in the time of the rebellion under King Charles I. .... I have heard some of our ancients who remember him report that he was a severe Calvinist, and that by the liberty he took he did a great deal of harm by his preaching in corporation towns, as many then did, and some gentlemen also, with licences obtained from the queen, under pretence of scarcity of divines."

But were there no holy and single-minded men who, disdaining to be made political agents, or carry on a paltry warfare with the details of church government, told of life and love, of purity and peace? Doubtless there were, and Jewel was a brilliant instance. Defective as were his views of ecclesiastical polity, he often preached like a man whose own heart was fixed on God, and who, as he rode from city to city in his diocese, though he now and then descended to that polemical warfare in which he was eminently skilled, everywhere shook abroad the standard of the everlasting gospel. And he laboured not alone. Many of the Elizabethan divines had hazarded their lives for conscience' sake, and though too apt to contend with phantoms and shadows, were truly vexed with the filthy conversation they were compelled to witness, and assailed it, not as those that beat the air. They do not seem to have been popular, for comparatively few sin-



gle discourses are on record formed on the apostolic scheme of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, although there are scores against transubstantiation and idolatry. But it is probable that the great numbers of bitter and unprofitable sermons of the age in print, were published because they only were admired. In them the shout of the applauding congregation followed every climax, and few cared to remember those which only taught the way to heaven.





## CHAPTER VI.

## THE CHURCH AND THE CONGREGATION.

*Ruunt delubra Deum.*

## I.

WHEN the Reformation swept away a multitude of corruptions from the church of England, it committed no small havoc with the fabrics. Much as recent years have done in restoring to something like decency the remains of olden time, and in raising new houses of prayer for the living God, there is too conclusive evidence in every relic that restorations have seldom deserved that name, and could the old churchmen look upon the new churches, it would be with the feeling of Jews returned from captivity beholding the second temple.

The suppression of the monasteries to which most of the larger churches belonged, brought the latter to be considered in the light of marketable chattels. And just as marble has proved itself more durable than bronze in commemorating the features of those who have deserved to be remembered, so stone and tiling have formed better materials for roofs than lead. In fact, when any sacred building was, in the pithy phrase of Henry's commissioners, "deemed superfluous," the next thing was to ascertain the collective weight of the



bells, and estimate the lead on the nave, aisles, and cloisters, that the king might know how much they should represent in a wager, or a gift. They were offered for sale, removed, and melted, unless, as in many instances, the parishioners subscribed and bought them, or they fell into the hands of some one whose sacrilege had a touch of compunction in it, and who, content with fleecing the priest, spared the temple. The extent of the spoliation, however, may be judged of from the fact of a man's using all his interest at court to obtain a grant, not of the bells, but the clappers of a district.

II. Thus it came to pass that the churches were "ruinous and foully decayed almost in every corner ..... defiled with rain and weather, with dung of doves and owls, stares and choughs, and other filthiness, as it is foul and lamentable to behold in many places of this country." \* And no wonder ; for while avarice thus unroofed them, other motives exposed them to the storms that beat against their sides. It is well known that as the art of staining glass attained perfection, the windows gradually expanded to receive it in the contemporary architecture. The walls of the church almost disappeared, and buttresses upheld the groined roof between their stony fingers, until within it seemed a work of enchantment. Such a style demanded the embellishment which accompanied it. But a danger presented itself to the preachers of the reformation, greater than the occasional tempest or the desultory sunshine. Figures of saints and angels, to say nothing of objects more objectionable, crowded the prismatic days ; but as the enactments relating to images and pictures made the fact of their abuse a necessary preliminary to their destruction, and as "men are not so ready to worship a picture on a wall or in a

\* Homily for repairing and keeping clean of churches.



window as an embossed and gilt image," \* these gorgeous productions escaped in many instances the general ruin. In 1564, we find George Withers encouraged by Bishop Parkhurst in preaching at Cambridge for the reformation of glass windows. It was only now and then, however, when a fanatic's soul was stirred by some individual abomination, that a window was rendered entirely useless, and the congregation exposed to the inclemency of the weather, for the broken portions were seldom replaced with common glass. Still they were mentioned now and then at Paul's Cross. "Our church," says T. White, "(God be thanked for the Word preached and the sacraments ministered,) is meetly well reformed, and good laws, too, for the redress of images in the walls and windows of churches if it were well looked into. But either covetousness which is idolatry, or idolatry which is not covetousness, doth make but slender practice or no execution at all of good laws. For churches keep their old colouring still, though the images have lost their countenance; and though their heads be off, yet they can make somewhat of their bodies." †

The allusion here is to a practice which seems to have been sometimes adopted where the rage for reforming had not swallowed up every dictate of common sense. Bishop Hall took out the heads from the stained figures at Norwich, and hoped that in that state they could do no harm. Other causes occasionally operated to the detriment of these "blasphemous pictures in church windows." ‡ For the short time that a new and showy preacher retained his popularity, Laurence Barker has told us that the people would tear the glass out of them to hear him. A process

\* Homily against peril of idolatry.

† Sermon at Paul's Cross, Sunday, Nov. 3d, 1577.

‡ Burton's Sermon at Norwich, 1589.



anticipated by the clerk of St. Mary's Cambridge, who, when Cartwright was going to preach, took down the windows of the church. However, a great deal still survived the Reformation, and only perished in the age when Culmer stood "on the top of the Canterbury city ladder, near sixty steps high, with a whole pike in his hand, rattling down proud Becket's glassy bones, when others then present, would not venture so high."

III. It is needless to observe that the reformers were no disciples of Durandus. "We know," says the homily, \* "that now in the time of the clear light of Christ Jesus the Son of God, all shadows, figures, and significations are utterly gone, ..... and therefore our churches are not set up for figures and significations of Messiah and Christ to come, but for other good and godly purposes." Hence wherever a doctrine was implied, a change was needed; the most important of these doctrinal alterations in the churches was, doubtless, that which changed the altar into a communion table. Hooper, in his fourth sermon on Jonah, had argued that no sacrifices were left to be done by Christian people but such as ought to be done without altars, the sacrifice of thanksgiving, of charity, and the mortifying their own bodies, he continues,—

"Seeing Christian men have none other sacrifices than these, which may and ought to be done without altars, there should, among Christians, be no altars, and therefore, it was not without the great wisdom and knowledge of God, that Christ, his apostles, and the primitive church, lacked altars: for they knew that the use of altars was taken away. It were well then that it might please the magistrates to turn the altars into tables, according to the first institution of Christ, to take away the false persuasion of the people they have of sacrifices to be done upon the altars; for as long as

\* Of repairing churches.



the altars remain, both the ignorant people, and the ignorant and evil-persuaded priest, will dream always of sacrifice. Therefore were it best that the magistrates removed all the monuments and tokens of idolatry and superstition, then should the true religion of God the sooner take place."

This recommendation was quickly followed. In the June following, on St. Barnabas' day, the altar had disappeared from St. Paul's, and the wall behind it. A moveable table occupied its place, and the removal of altars was enjoined by Ridley in his visitation of this year throughout the London diocese. This, of course, created a sensation in other parts of the kingdom; and Day, bishop of Chichester, a man, be it observed, who had given up, and even preached against, transubstantiation, endeavoured by sermons in his cathedral to prevent the operation of so desecrating a practice. The enforcement was characteristic. Cox, the king's tutor, was sent into his see to preach against him in October, and the next month an order from the council for the general destruction of altars came to all the bishops. Day resisted, resigned his bishopric, resumed his former faith, and was committed to the Fleet.

IV. The destruction of altars, however, was but one step out of many which seemed desirable to the more radical reformers. They formed important parts, it is true, yet merely parts of a system on which the whole fabric of the churches was constructed. And if that system was radically wrong, and in the absence of any other guidance the precedents of the temple worship were to be considered as of no worth at all, further alterations must be made before places fit for Christian worship could be provided; the chancel of course would seem obnoxious. In the sermon already quoted, Hooper expresses himself unwilling to "condemn the



public place of prayer ;” he is even sorry it is not more frequented. “ But,” he adds, “ this I would wish, that the magistrates should put both the preacher, minister, and the people, in one place, and shut up the partition called the chancel, that separateth the congregation of Christ one from the other, as though the veil and partition of the temple in the old law yet should remain in the church ; when, indeed, all figures and types ended in Christ. And in case this were done, it should not only express the dignity and grace of the New Testament, but also cause the people the better to understand the things read there by the minister ; and also provoke the minister to more study of the things that he readeth, lest he should be found by the judgment of the congregation not worthy neither to read nor to minister in the church. Further, that such as would receive the holy communion of the precious body and blood of Christ might both hear and see plainly what is done, as it was used in the primitive church, whenas the abomination done upon altars was not known.” \*

This was all plausible in theory, but the shock thus given was greater than the popular mind could bear. When they saw an altar broken down with every indignity, and all its costly furniture supplanted by a linen cloth, and the conveniences of a domestic table, no preaching could make them yield the latter a reverence denied by their teachers to the former. It is not surprising, then, to find both parties deploring the natural, if not the inevitable result. John Bradford, preaching in the succeeding reign, when the harbingers of persecution were gathering round him, exclaimed, “ The contempt of the sacrament in the days of Edward hath caused these plagues upon us presently.” † Brokes, on the other hand, traced all

\* Fourth sermon on Jonah. † Sermon on the Lord’s Supper.



the death of religion to "the defacing of churches, in spoiling their goods and ornaments, the breaking down altars, throwing down crosses, casting out of images, the burning of tried holy relics..... change in altars, change in placing, change in gesture, change in apparel." \* On which subject—change of placing—I will only repeat the judicious hint given by Mr. Robertson, that if we provoke puritanically-disposed churchmen, by introducing unauthorized and unfamiliar ornaments and ceremonies about our altars, they may be able to give us considerable trouble, by a reference to the authorities for the position of the table at times of communion.

v. Of course, the altars were rebuilt, and all things arranged as nearly as possible in their former places, under Mary. They were dismantled under her successor, but the extent of change both in the table and the celebrant was very various. And while here and there an altar remained undemolished, in some instances the very pavement on which it stood was levelled, or if spared, regarded as evidence of a yearning after abominations—"the Romish altars are of hewn stone and have steps, as is apparent in their synagogues, and as appeareth by steps yet remaining in many of our temples, whereby either longing for that heathenish superstition or, at the least, cold affection to advance true religion is undoubtedly signified." † In another respect, however, the popular zeal was more satisfactory. In the removal of every incentive to idolatry, not only the table of marble, but the vessels of precious metal turned to wood. Hooper had suggested, in his fifth sermon on Jonah, that the primitive Christians "used chalices of wood and glass," although "the wooden chalice would soak in the wine

\* Broke's Sermon before Queen Mary, 1553.

† John Walsal, P. C. 1578.



consecrated, and the glass might soon be broken;" whence he drew an inference that they disbelieved in any change of the sacramental wine. Edward had made provision that one chalice should be left in each church, but this hint was too good to be lost: this practical protest was profitable for those times, and a wooden specimen is still extant of characteristic execution. Instead of the Good Shepherd carrying home the sheep that was lost, a usual device on ancient chalices, there are the arms and supporters of James I. and this motto is engraved round the foot:

God's word and spirit some it doth lively feede  
The blood of Christ to them is drinke in deede.

Babington spoke of it as matter of doubt—an exception rather than a rule—"if any inferior gold or silver vessels remained in churches." \* On the other hand, copes and albs, and I know not what beside, were prescribed by the letter of the law; and when Whittingham "considered how Jeroboam maintained his calves at Dan and Bethel, it made him tremble so often as he saw the pope-like garments avouched and set forth under the vizard of policy."

VI. And here it may not be uninteresting to look at a picture representing a communion in Edward's day. The priest is in his ordinary gown, a flowing dress, resembling that worn by the Turkey merchants, and no one relic of popery except the circular form of the bread or wafer, which seems not as yet to have created any such alarm as to require its alteration. "The outward preparation; the more simple it is, the better it is, and the nearer unto the institution of Christ and his apostles. If he have bread, wine, a table, and a fair tablecloth, let him not be solicitous nor careful for the rest, seeing they are not things brought

\* Sermon at Paul's Cross, p. 54, 1591.



in by Christ, but by popes ; unto whom, if the king's majesty and his honourable council have good conscience, they must be restored again ; and great shame it is for a noble king, emperor, or magistrate, contrary to God's will, to detain and keep from the devil or his minister any of their goods or treasure, as the candles, vestments crosses, altars ! For if they are kept in the church as things indifferent, at length they will be maintained as things necessary. When the minister is thus well prepared with sound and godly doctrine, let him prepare himself to the distribution of the bread and wine ; and as he giveth the bread, let him break it, after the example of Christ. He should give the bread, and not thrust it into the receiver's mouth ; for the breaking of the bread hath a great mystery in it of the passion of Christ, in the which his body was broken for us ; and that is signified in the breaking of the bread, which in no case should be omitted : therefore, let the minister break the round bread ; for broken, it serveth as a sacrament, and not whole. Christ broke it. (Matt. xxvi., Mark, xiv., Luke, xxii.) And St. Paul saith, ' The bread that we break, is it not the communion of Christ's body ? ' (1 Cor. x.) Thus should the perfection of Christ's institution be had in honour, and the memory of the dead left out, and nothing done in this sacrament that had not God's word to bear it." \* " I much marvel that it is appointed that he that will be admitted to the ministry of God's word or his sacraments must come in white vestments, which seemeth to repugn plainly with the former doctrine that confessed the only word of God to be sufficient ; and sure I am they have not in the word of God, that thus a minister should be apparelled, nor yet in the primitive and best church. Further ; where, and of whom, and when have they learned that he that

\* Hooper's 6th Serm. 1550.



is called to the ministry of God's word should hold the bread and chalice in one hand, and the book in another? Why do they not as well give him in his hand the font and the water." \*

VII. Of course these outlines were drawn more sharply by a less friendly hand. The Romanist accounts of the Edwardian sacraments are unprepossessing.—“Some said that the bread was consecrate when the parish clerk did bring it to the church and set it upon the table, and these were no small men, but our greatest bishops.” Hooper was probably meant. “They said every man and woman might consecrate and speak the words as well as a priest.” † “The necessary matter is bread of wheat which is due as it ought to be if it be pure, sweet, and unleavened; but our new masters, that cry out so fast of Christ's institution, did ordain it should not be ministered in unleavened bread, but in common bread, and the worse the better with them; some said horsebread was too good. Well! there was more villany shewed herein than I will express at this time. And for the other kind, whereas the due matter is wine mixed with water, they notwithstanding the institution and example of our Saviour Christ commanded no water to be put in. Our new masters that still cry upon the institution of Christ, some said it was a sacrament or ever the words were spoken, as soon as it was brought to the church for the use of the communion. Some would have the words said but as one should read a lesson or tell a tale, not directed to the bread and wine, but that the minister should look away from the bread and wine in the time of the pronouncing, fearing belike the words should have more strength than they would they should have. ‡

VIII. It seems not improbable that the description

\* Hooper's 3d Sermon. † Watson's 1st Sermon. 1554.

‡ Watson's 2d Sermon. 1554.



of an English communion in the reign of Edward, would have served for the end of Elizabeth's reign in very many instances. Still many a preacher was "wonderful circumspect," as Ingmethorp says, to administer the Holy Eucharist "according to the precise pattern of Christ's original institution, not daring for his life to swerve one hair's breadth from it"—and yet he called himself a minister of the church of England.\*

IX. To return to the fabric. Between the chancel and the nave in every church a gallery, usually of richly carved and gilded wood work, supported a group of statues to which a worship was paid far too closely allied to idolatry to be safe or tolerable. "A fair rood of the largest making," † was quite indispensable among the paraphernalia of corruption. When, however, the images were gone, the remainder was both a symbol of the separation between priests and people, which it was the uniform tendency of the Reformation to do away, and also a memorial of fallen idolatry. Peter White was minister of Eaton Soken, Bedfordshire, but whenever he entered his church this object met him, grieved his eye, and chafed his spirit. The rood-loft had here been partially destroyed, but the "stump," nine whole feet in breadth, yet remained, and the skreen downward lacked nothing but the images to make it perfect. One part of the parish, it appears, maintained that when the idols were all cast down, the idolatrous character of the erection ceased. Another, however, urged that "the beam whereon the idol stood" had imbibed its soul-destroying properties, and that all the carved work should be broken down with axes and hammers. Of this opinion was the minister, who having, as he hoped, secured a bishop to

\* Serm. at Worcester, 1598.

† Stockwood at Paul's Cross, 1579, f. 8.



come and preach against it, arranged every thing for its final demolition immediately after the sermon. He was disappointed, and forced to preach himself; but the congregation, may be, sustained no loss, and the loft gained no mercy. From the account of the golden candlesticks in the Revelations Peter White proceeded to demonstrate the absurdity of their position who maintained "that the part of the rood-loft yet standing is no monument of idolatry."

"They say the rood-loft is no monument of idolatry. Tertullian telleth us that monumentum is anything that putteth in mind the memory of things not present. Now enter into the consideration of your own minds, and remember with yourselves whether, when you behold this loft, you at some time or other think with yourselves, some time yonder stood a crucifix, Mary and John; or when your children ask you what this loft is, or why it standeth there, and is more gay than the residue of the church, do you not answer, it was the rood-loft—there stood the rood, Mary and John? And when they say, further, where is now the rood, and why is it now taken away, do you not answer, they were idols, and therefore are taken away!

"Further, the laws of this realm, the judgment of our most gracious prince (whom the Almighty ever preserve, to the utter overthrow of idolatry), with the practice of her commissions given unto divers learned men of this realm, as well in the common laws and civil laws as in divinity, teacheth us that this rood-loft is a monument of idolatry; for everywhere, in the first year of her grace's reign, they gave commandment to overthrow them in every place, as may appear unto you, by St. Neot's, your next neighbour, when Dr. Burton, and Dr. Neveson, and Sergeant Fleetwood, caused the rood-loft there to be cut down by the seats of the choir, leaving no memorial thereof, that their



doing might be an example unto the residue of the country to do the like. Seeing, therefore, that these proofs do so clearly declare it to be a monument of idolatry, which in truth hath and doth greatly offend the consciences of the best sort, and disquieteth the whole number of this congregation, let me say unto you, as Moses at the Red Sea said unto the Israelites, when Pharaoh had hemmed them in with his army, ‘Fear ye not—stand still and behold the great works of the Lord. Ye see the Egyptians now, but after this day ye shall see them no more. Be not offended—quiet your minds—ye now see this monument that hath so troubled us, but after this, in this form and fashion shall ye see it no more.’ ” \*

x. But churchwardens had learned a lesson of prudence; they remembered how the parish paid for destroying the old roods, and was soon after forced to pay for new. Being then called on a second time to deface what they had been mulct so heavily for defacing the first, they were glad, probably, when they were allowed to remove and conceal a rood, until they saw what turn affairs might take. Hence, “Whereas the Queen’s Majesty gave charge in the beginning of her reign that all monuments of idolatry should be defaced. If but a very mean officer had then given a contrary commandment, that both the popish priests and popish people should hide their monuments of idolatry in their houses and secret places, in hope of that day they look and long for, ye might believe them that they had observed this contrary commandment with all diligence as it notably falleth out at this present, in proof.” † Yet the church was generally pretty well dismantled; for a pulpit, a lettern or reading desk, supporting a bible and prayer book, Erasmus’s paraphrase, the homilies, and perhaps Fox’s Book of Martyrs; and

\* P. White’s Serm. 1581. † W. Kethe’s Serm. 1571.



sometimes a number of sentences from scripture inscribed on the walls, constituted, I believe, the usual amount of reformed offerings to the interior. Of the two former I do not recollect any notices in the sermons, and of the last, but one. This is a curiosity in its way. That Boner, on his visitation, should have been offended by these inscriptions is nothing wonderful. It seems, however, that the protestant bishops in some instances viewed them with as little favour. Bulkley laments that they caused every text on the walls to be effaced, which makes it probable that these must have been selected for polemical purposes.

Such mementos might have been chosen as would have conveyed very wholesome admonitions to the frequenters of churches. In bonds which specified a time and place of payment, the font of the parish church appears to have been frequently named for that purpose, and any text concerning the expulsion of money changers from the house of prayer would have been appropriate: unless, indeed, this practice was a relic of those nobler feelings which assigned a real sanctity to holy places, and gave every transaction there the character of Jephthah's engagement with the Gileadites at Mizpeh. But this excuse will not serve as an apology for the bargaining, fighting, and assassination which were too frequent occurrences in St. Paul's. Pilkington, preaching at the Cross after the fire which destroyed part of the church in 1561, spoke of that catastrophe as an evidence of God's anger against the profanation of the temple, by "walkings, meetings, talkings, chidings, fightings, and that especially in the time of service and divine worship," \* and the Queen's proclamation following shortly after against such as should transact business, or make any fray or shoot any hand-gun or dag within the sacred precincts, shews

\* Strype's Grindal, p. 81.



that these were not mere bloodless broils. This proclamation appears to have been observed much as all ecclesiastical regulations were at that time, and as St. Paul's set the example others followed. H. Smith, one of the most popular London preachers about 1590, speaking of the mixed motives which collected congregations, said, "another hath some occasion of business, and he appoints his friends to meet him at such a sermon, as they do at Paul's." \*

XI. The discontinuance of the daily service spoiled the church as a place of business or a lounge, and was complained of by the laity possibly on this as well as other accounts. "They say," says Burton, "we will not read service every day to the walls and windows, to the stools and stones; and is not this cause sufficient to deny us our duty?" † Perhaps on this may be chargeable that separation of rich and poor, which obtains to such an extent in the arrangement of nearly all modern churches; as yet, sittings even do not seem to have been generally appropriated, as the poor had still the option of selecting their places. It is evident, however, that the man with the gold ring had made his appearance and taken up much room, when Topsell lamented the placing of "the poorer sort, who are thrust behind the doors in greater assemblies." "Modesty in choosing places," he adds, "is not to be regarded where danger followeth too much courtesy; there can be no zeal in them that cannot hear the voice of the preacher." ‡ If they did not hear him, however, he sometimes heard more than he liked of them. The ancient habit of bowing at the name of Jesus had taken such deep root as not to be abolished easily nor entirely; and the preacher just quoted deplored alike that while some "are scraping with their feet, super-

\* Serm. on the Art of Hearing. † Burton, Serm. 1589.

‡ Topsell, p. 302.



stitiously conceited when they hear but the name of Jesus mentioned, many show the whole congregation their backs by departing out of church." \* Such conduct the preachers reckoned as testimonies to their fidelity in this matter, and boldly declared "we will not ..... make a leg at the name of Jesus:" † but felt it all the more because the men did "disdain to uncover their heads at the time of sermon," while others "crossed themselves and could not pray but toward the east," ‡ a practice Cranmer had so much discountenanced as to make Dr. Smith recant his defence of it.

Of course it is not from the sermons that the amount of irregularity prevailing in the church services can be best gathered. Omissions winked at in practice were sometimes punished when avowed, as when Burton declared he would "not read all service at all times," nor "read every collect," nor "say gloria patri at the end of every psalm." "We have a morning exercise," he says, "where we are faithfully taught our duty both to God and her majesty, where prayers be made for the queen, realm, and all other Christian princes ..... Yet as soon shall we get a hare with a tabor as persuade some of them to come to this heavenly and religious exercise. And why so? It is in the morning by candlelight, and that is not convenient, say some, and those wise men too!" For *saying* this he was sent to prison.

XII. It has often been observed that the preachers endeavoured to substitute extempore prayers for the forms of the church, and conceiving of the pulpit as a privileged place, would walk about the churchyard, take no part in the service, but entering after another had ended the prayers, begin *de novo*. Certainly they did not confine themselves to the bidding

\* Topsell, p. 23, and Wright, Summons for Sleepers, p. 30.

† Burton, 1589.

‡ T. White, 1577.



prayer, which was never in universal use at any period of the Reformation. Cartwright has been put forward as the first who exchanged it for a direct invocation, but several earlier instances are found in which preachers used such prayers as seemed good to themselves. To show the entire absence of anything like uniformity in this matter, it may be added that not only were extempore effusions tolerated at Paul's Cross, but a preacher would use a set form of his own throughout a course of Lectures. Deringe's, being short, may serve as an example :

“ O Lord God which hast left unto us thy Holy Word to be a lantern unto our feet and a light unto our steps, give unto us all thy Holy Spirit, that out of the same word we may learn what is thy eternal will, and frame our lives in all holy obedience to the same, to thy honour and glory, and increase of our faith through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”\*

Nor was this all. Prayers after sermon appear to have been equally at the preacher's option. Fox, at Paul's Cross in 1578, concludes with a long one, and he was by no means singular in the practice. After Bedell's sermon “ The mouth of the poor,” is “ A prayer which the same Henry Bedell useth every Sunday and Holyday after his sermons.”

XIII. Still, whether the duties of the pastor were regularly or irregularly performed, there seems to have been but one result. The services of the church were sadly neglected, and the sacramental table chiefly frequented to escape the consequences of recusancy. The operation of the law thus made it necessary for “ Ministers for the most part” to “ admit all hand-over-head,” and the preacher says, “ When I consider how horribly this holy sacrament is abused among us, how this feast is cast before swine, and ministered to all,

\* Deringe's Works, p. 458.



without making any difference between the clean and the unclean. How ignorantly, unreverently, and profanely it is received, I cannot but stand in terror and horror of God's fearful plagues to come upon us, even to the depriving us of the word of life." \* And this, no doubt, was the case at those stated times when it was necessary to attend or pay a fine; at others, many a priest might say in the words of Herbert Westphaling, "We stand at the altar for nought; there is nobody to communicate, (in comparison of that should), Every man goes his way—sorry I am to speak it. But I think verily that no one thing more stayeth the papist from embracing the truth, nor such as be not yet of Christ's flock from Christianity, than this open contempt of so holy things, this retchless behaviour of ours, in this so notable a point of our profession." †

\* Bulkley, 1585.

† Westphaling's first Sermon of the Lord's Supper.





## CHAPTER VII.

## STATE OF PUBLIC MORALS UNDER EDWARD.

Say not thou, What is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this. Eccles. vii. 10.

## I.

**T**HERE seems little doubt that popery is making advances in this country; there is as little that they are made against a purer faith, a more reasonable worship, and a more generous polity than that of Rome. It should be considered where the fault lies; and whether the self-complacency with which Protestants are accustomed to look back upon the Reformation, the pertinacity with which they charge principles on their opponents which they disavow, and denounce practices in which the reformers desired to participate, may not have contributed to undermine religion in one party, and bolster up superstition in the other. The habit of regarding the age in which that revolution occurred as in itself an authority and model, has had an unfavourable influence on protestantism throughout the world. That it deserved no such character in England, it will not be difficult to prove.

The degradation of the clergy at a period commencing with the reign of Edward, and continuing



throughout the greater part of the sixteenth century, has been noticed in a former chapter; the result of that degradation, a total inattention to their instructions, a general demoralization of society, a stalking abroad of vice and profaneness, which made good men, who looked upon the world with feelings alive to the exceeding sinfulness of sin, believe that divine vengeance must speedily break forth and consume it with its iniquities, shall be illustrated in this.

II. A dislike to costume was growing rapidly, and confusion of the various ranks in society had already become an evident evil. Sumptuary laws contended with it in vain. "May we not see serving-men, having not past four nobles or forty shillings wages to live upon, so gorgeously appareled, in his gesture and behaviour of his body, in his pace and going, so to move himself as if he were a man of substance, yea, an esquire or a knight?"\*

Assaults on the persons of clergymen for wearing their professional attire were common manifestations of the same spirit. Various conjectures have been offered as to the cause of that disgust which the reformers had pretty generally conceived against their robes. That some good honest enthusiasts thought them criminal in themselves there can be no doubt; but when a state of opinion prevailed which raised the clamour of the populace against them, there is no need to seek further for a reason why men who were not insensible to reproach from their own party, should rather join in the outcry than incur what appeared to them unnecessary odium by resistance. How bitterly they felt the contempt of their office has been shown already; why should they bind it upon their persons by the old Popish attire? A royal proclamation, in November, 1547, forbidding serving men, and other

\* Scott, 1545.



young light persons, apprentices of London, to use "insolency and evil demeanour towards priests, as reviling, tossing of them, taking away violently their caps and tippets from them," &c., speaks intelligibly enough as to one quarrel churchmen had with their costume.

III. No one would expect a high tone of morality to result from the teaching of a body thus derided and despised. Perhaps, however, there may have been something which acted unfavourably on public morals in the dogmas, (truer in most instances than those they supplanted,) which their convictions led them to advance in the foreground of their discourses. Suffice it to say at present, that the monstrous doctrine of supererogation was usually met by extreme statements as to the completeness of the work of the atonement, and man's inability to merit anything but death. 'Αἴσιος, ἱκανός, and words of similar import were translated with more adroitness than candour in the English bibles then in use; \* and Antinomians were not slow in discovering that he who could have no merits could of course have no sins. Such views getting abroad at a juncture when auricular confession fell into disuse, could not be favourable to morality.

IV. Whether the evils of such a practice as confession could ever be balanced by the advantages, it is difficult to form a just opinion. There can be but one, however, as to the probable results of suddenly withdrawing any check from the conduct of a community which had always been kept under its restraint in matters beyond the reach of human laws. If all priests could be passionless, impartial, and wise; deeply impressed with the responsibility of their office, and enjoying a

\* See G. Martin's "Discovery of the Manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the Heretics of our days," &c. Chap. IX.



double portion of that blessed Spirit which makes all things pure to the pure, the habit of auricular confession must be most valuable, and the personal intercourse between the minister and every member of his flock which it must create, would be worth half the reforms of the Reformation. God, however, carries on his work by common and imperfect instruments; the confessional was a test which the documents of the Romish church prove that her ministers could not stand. One bad priest would do more harm than twenty good could repair; and on the whole, that optional confession, recommended by the reformers, was perhaps the best substitute that demoralized age admitted of.

“As touching confession, I tell you that they that can be content with the general absolution which every minister of God’s word giveth in his sermons when he pronounceth that all that be sorry for their sins, and believe in Christ; seek help and remedy by him, and afterward intend to amend their lives and avoid sin and wickedness, all those that be so minded shall have remission of sins. Now, I say they that can be content with this general absolution it is well, but they that are not satisfied with it, they may go to some godly learned minister which is able to instruct and comfort them with the word of God, and to minister the same unto them to the quieting and consolation of their consciences.” \* “But to speak of right and true confession, I would to God it were kept in England, for it is a good thing; and they which find themselves grieved in conscience might go to a learned man, and there fetch of him comfort of the word of God, and so come to a quiet conscience; which is better and more to be regarded than all the riches of the world. And surely it grieveth me much that such confessions are not kept in England.” † They were not, however;

\* Latimer, 1st S. in Advent. † Latimer, 3d S. after Epiph.



and the theory of absolution adopted by the English church was of course treated with contempt by the papists. The preacher just quoted attacks some gentleman on this subject rather keenly. "I am content to bear the title of sedition with Esaias. Thanks be to God I am not alone, I am in no singularity. The same man that laid sedition thus to my charge, was asked another time, whether he were at the sermon at Paul's Cross, he answered that he was there: and being asked what news there: Marry (quoth he) wonderful news, we were there clean absolved, my mule and all had full absolution. Ye may see by this, that he was such a one as rode on a mule and that he was a gentleman. Indeed his mule was wiser than he, for I dare say the mule never slandered the preacher. Ah! an unhappy chance had this mule, to carry such an ass upon his back. I was there at that sermon myself. In the end of this sermon he gave a general absolution, and as far as I remember, these, or such other like words he spake, but at the least, I am sure this was his meaning. As many as do acknowledge yourselves to be sinners, and confess the same, and stand not in defence of it, but heartily abhor it, and will believe in the death of Christ, and be conformable thereunto, *Ego absolvo vos*, quoth he. Now, saith this gentleman, his mule was absolved. The preacher absolved but such as were sorry and did repent. Belike then she did repent her stumbling; his mule was wiser than he a great deal. I speak not of worldly wisdom, for therein he is too, too wise, yea he is so wise, that wise men marvel, how he came truly by the tenth part of that he hath: but in wisdom which consisteth *in rebus Dei, in rebus salutis*, in godly matters, and appertaining to our salvation, in this wisdom he is as blind as a beetle. *Tanquam equus et mulus in quibus non est intellectus*. Like horses and mules that have no understanding.



If it were true that the mule repented her of her stumbling, I think she was better absolved than he : I pray God stop his mouth, or else to open it to speak better, and more to his glory.\*

v. The extent to which the bishops' courts were crippled in their powers, and treated with contempt by the old Romanists, as well as the "carnal gospellers," prevented them from acting with vigour in stemming the tide of immorality. Sir Anthony Kingston assaulted Bishop Hooper as he sat on the bench of his Consistory ; and although that outrage on a very favoured prelate was punished by fine, the temper which it indicated remained unchecked. These courts, moreover, were badly administered and inefficient. Much of the canon law had become obsolete with modern changes. All Cranmer's efforts to get his review of it legalized were unsuccessful, and such ample opportunities presented themselves for the removal of ecclesiastical causes to civil courts, that no bishop could depend on carrying into execution any sentence pronounced by his commissary, even in the worst cases. The consequence seems to have been, that many laid by the rusty sword, and waited in torpor or impatience until time should restore its edge. One thing is certain, whether it arose from contempt of the clergy, the abuse of doctrinal instruction, the disuse of confession, the decay of ecclesiastical courts, or any other combination of causes, in an age when men thought it safer to doubt everything than to believe too much,† all parties agreed that the nation had

\* Latimer's 3d Serm. before Edward.

† "Scio hic variare multorum judicia, sed quoniam scimus infinitas ubique a Satana salutis nostræ insidias strui, tutius esse puto etiam ea quæ certa esse credimus habere pro dubiis, ne nimium securi simus quam quæ dubia sunt pro certis reputare."—Alasco in "*Miscellanea Groningana*, ii. 621."



grown worse ; none imagined that the gospel was doing its legitimate work upon the people, "purifying their hearts through faith," but each was inquiring with shame or exultation, "What is the cause that the former times were better than these?" "All men may see," says Bradford, "if they will, that the whoredom, pride, unmercifulness, tyranny, &c. of England, far passeth in this age any age that ever was before."\* "London was never so ill as it is now," says Latimer, the Democritus of the Reformation. Hooper was the Heraclitus, and although his sermons are few, they want not indications of his opinion as to the deteriorated state of public morals. For example :—

"Noah was a preacher before the flood, Jonah before the destruction of Nineveh, Lot of Sodom, Christ and his apostles of Jerusalem. Seeing now that God hath sent his word, his king, his magistrates, and his preachers into England, it is (take heed of it) a sure token that the sins of England are ascended up into his sight, so that out of hand we must amend, or suddenly look for the most severe punishment of God. All men confess that sin never so abounded, but no one of us says, 'It is I that provoke the wrath of God, I will amend.' The nobility lay all the fault on the people, the people on the nobility, bishops, merchants, priests, and others ; but will you be judged at one word by the testimony of a noble wise man ? Noble Isaiah the prophet saith, The ox knoweth his lord, and the ass his owner's stable ; woe is me, ye sinful people, people laden with iniquity, a seed malicious, lost children ; ye have forsaken the Lord, the holy one of Israel ye have provoked.' Let every man look upon himself, acknowledge his sin, and study to amend it, from the highest to the lowest, for the Lord is ready to smite." †

\* Serm. on Repentance, 1553.      † 1st. Serm.



These general statements however, will be supposed to proceed from that sort of poetic licence which some preachers venture upon in the pulpit, in every age and nation; in short, it will be believed that they did not preach the truth when they, who had lived in both times, declared that the habits of the country were worse than in the “days of darkness.” They did so frequently and emphatically, and some of them at least traced the evil to its real source, the loss of reverence—a feeling which could scarcely survive all they had witnessed who saw the downfall of the monastic establishments, and dispersion of monastic treasures. “Men the more they know the worse they be. It is truly said, *scientia inflat*, knowledge maketh us proud, and causeth us to forget all, and set away discipline. Surely in popery they had a reverence, but now we have none at all. I never saw the like.”\*

VI. My own belief is that vice and profanity did receive a stimulus, not more attributable to any thing then done, than to the manner of doing it; and such testimonies as follow are calculated to confirm this. Hells had been opened—“There is such dicing houses also, they say, as hath not been wont to be, where young gentlemen dice away their thrift.....For the love of Almighty God, let some remedy be had.”† The palace, however, set no good example; “whereas God’s laws, and also the common statutes of this realm, forbid dice and cards; the more shame it is, they are used daily and hourly in the king’s majesty’s house; whereat not only the majesty of God is offended, but many an honest man is undone in the year. That dice-house must be cast into the sea. If it be not, God will cast the maintainers thereof at length into hell.”‡

\* Latimer’s 6th Serm, before Edward, † Ibid.

‡ Hooper’s 3d Sermon.



VII. A district in Southwark still bearing the name of infamy, had been chartered for debauchery, if not earlier, in the reign of Henry II.; a district of which it might be said in the well known words of Dante

“Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch’ entrate!”

Chedsey in a sermon preached A. D. 1545, exposes its enormities. Whatever apologies might be made for a privileged resort of this kind, he proceeds, “This dare I say, that it is a detestable provocation for youth; here they may sin, and no man say against them. Let the wife displease her husband, the daughter her father and mother, the servant her master and dame, hither they may come without nay, here is safe conduct for them.—Well, it may be permitted by a civil ordinance, God’s laws I am sure never did permit it. Suffered it may be to avoid worse inconvenience, but in the meantime many be lost both body and soul.”

Whether this address drew attention to the subject, or whether Chedsey, who was a courtly divine enough, merely followed the lead of the government, these charnel houses of morality were put down in the course of the same year; it would seem however as if the vice fortified itself in a conventional stronghold as soon as it was driven from its legal precincts. “You have put down the stews,” says Latimer, “but, I pray you, what is the matter amended? ..... I advertise you in God’s name look to it. I hear say there is now more whoredom in London than ever there was on the Bank.....more stewed whoredom than ever was before. The Bank when it stood was never so common..... There is some place in London, as they say *immune impune*; what should I call it? a privileged place for whoredom. The lord mayor hath nothing to do there; the sheriffs may not meddle with it, and the quest they do not inquire of it



.....if it be true that is told, I marvel that the earth gapeth not and swalloweth it up."

VIII. That these complaints were not altogether groundless, appears by another, the increasing frequency of divorces. "What contention and manslaughter cometh of whoredom! How many maidens be deflowered, how many wives corrupted, how many widows defiled through whoredom! How much is the public and commonweal impoverished and troubled through whoredom! how much is God's word contemned and depraved through whoredom and whoremongers! Of this vice cometh a great part of the divorces which now-a-days be so commonly accustomed and used by men's private authority, to the great displeasure of God, and the breach of the most holy knot and bond of matrimony; for when this most detestable sin is once crept into the breast of the adulterer, straightways his true and lawful wife is despised, her presence is abhorred..... to make short work, she must away." \*

IX. Profaneness was general and excessive. Latimer reproves parents for teaching their children to swear, and represents merchants as excusing themselves for that practice by saying, that unless they swore no one would believe them. Chambers hung with altar cloths, and feasts served in chalices and patens, were suitable to the tastes, and alas! within the means, of such profligates, "The more to be pitied it is so now, that whosoever enters and marks the conditions of many men in the court, shall find in the most part of the house hangings of God's wounds, his flesh and blood, with such blasphemous oaths as the devil himself, if he were incarnate, would tremble to speak." †

X. Dishonesty found its way into every branch of com-

\* Second part of Homily against Whoredom—it was the work of Becon.

† Hooper's 3d Sermon.



merce, and although deception in manufactured goods is a vice peculiar to no period nor country, the following passage, strongly marked with Latimer's peculiarities, gives a very systematic instance of it, and shows that Latimer had discovered that all were not to be implicitly trusted in money matters who made great profession of the gospel:—

“I hear say there is a certain cunning come up in the mixing of wares. How say you; were it not a wonder to hear that the cloth-makers should become 'poticaries? Yea, and I hear say in such a place, whereas they have professed the gospel and the word of God most earnestly of a long time. See how busy the devil is to slander the word of God. Thus the poor gospel goeth to wrack ..... If his cloth be seventeen yards long, he will set him on a rack, and stretch him out with ropes, and rack him till the sinews shrink again whilst he hath brought him to eighteen yards. When they have brought him to that perfection, they have a pretty feat to thicken him again. He makes me a powder for it, and plays the poticary; they call it flock powder ..... they were wont to make beds of flocks, and it was a good bed too; now they have turned the flocks to powder, and play the false thieves with it. O wicked devil, what can he not invent to blaspheme God's word? ..... Woe worth that these flocks should slander the word of God. As he said to the Jews, thy wine is mingled with water, so might he have said to us of this land, thy cloth is mingled with flock powder.” \*

XI. Such masters deserved towardly apprentices, and they had them. “Prentices can do nothing but lie, and the better they lie the more they are regarded of their master, and the more accepted. And therefore there was never such falsehood as there is now, by

\* Latimer's 3d Serm. before Edward.



reason that the youth is brought up in lies and falsehood, for we see daily what falsehood is abroad, and how every one deceiveth his neighbour. There will no writing serve us now-a-days; every man worketh craftily with his neighbour.”\* Nor was lying their only fault, they were growing very insubordinate. “A prentice admonished will make answer again churlishly, and if his master go about to correct, he will withstand him, and take the staff by the end.”†

XII. The sense of honour dies harder than honesty; it would not have been surprising if those who held the rank of officers, in a day when bearing arms was synonymous with the name of gentleman, should have set the merchants and manufacturers an example of strict justice and integrity in their professional dealings. It seems, however, that their peculations were notorious, and the preacher could look at men who “receive wages to war, and war not; who receive for a thousand soldiers, and serve not with five hundred. The captain, by his faith, is bound to have as many men as his allowance charges him with, but like a thief he deceives the king both of his number of men, and robs him of his goods; and also for lack of true payments to the half number that he is appointed unto, he wearies out the good will of the poor soldiers, so that extreme poverty, with sickness, for lack of payment of their wages, causes them to care neither for the king, nor the commonwealth.”‡

Men who would do that would do worse, no doubt, and yet it is difficult to suppose, notwithstanding the light that Shakespeare has thrown upon such transactions in high life, that the following alludes to persons in the nominal rank of gentlemen. “When Christ suffered his passion, there was one Barabbas; St. Mat-

\* Latimer, Serm. on 21st Sunday after Trinity.

† Scott's Serm. 1545. ‡ Hooper's 3d Serm.



thew calleth him a notable thief, a gentleman thief, such as rob now-a-days in velvet coats; and other two obscure thieves, nothing famous. The rustical thieves were hanged, and Barabbas was delivered: even so now-a-days the little thieves are hanged that steal of necessity, but the great Barabbases have free liberty to rob and spoil without measure in the midst of the city.\* And, it would appear, in the country too, since that, by Hooper's account (and he had travelled a good deal), was "pestered with more thieves than half Europe beside, insomuch that a man cannot travel safely by the way with twenty pounds in his purse, though twenty men are together in company, as it was seen by experience of late days." †

XIII. The impunity of murder by a gentleman or gentleman's servant, is a common theme of reprobation in the contemporary pulpit. The price of perjury, however, seems to have been low enough to enable a comparatively poor man to buy his life. "I can tell where one man slew another in a township, and was attached upon the same; twelve men were impanelled, that man had friends, the sheriff had laboured the bench, the twelve men stack at it and said, except he would disburse twelve crowns, they would find him guilty. Means were found that the twelve crowns was paid. The quest come in and says, not guilty. Here was not guilty for twelve crowns. This is a bearing: and some of the bench were hanged they were well served. This makes men bold to do murder and slaughter. We should reserve murdering till we come to our enemies, and the king bid us fight; he that would bestir him then were a good fellow indeed. Crowns, quoth you, if their crowns were shaven to their shoulders, they were served well enough. I know where a woman was got with child, and was ashamed at the matter,

\* B. Gilpin, Serm. at Greenwich. † Hooper's 3d Serm.



and went into a secret place, where she had no woman at her travail, and was delivered of three children at a birth: she wrung their necks, and cast them into a water, and so killed her children; suddenly she was gaunt again, and her neighbours suspecting the matter, caused her to be examined, and she confessed all. Afterwards she was arraigned at the bar for it, and dispatched, and found not guilty, through making of friends and bribing of the judge, where at the same sessions, another poor woman was hanged for stealing a few rags off a hedge, that were not worth a crown." \*

XIV. It would be easy to multiply quotations showing how completely the low and paltry vices of poverty and want had soaked up into the higher classes, staining the sanctity of the lawn and the purity of the ermine, and writing dishonour on the soldier's brow. "Now-a-days judges be afraid to hear a poor man against a rich," † says Latimer; possibly they had good reason. But if the passages already quoted from Bernard Gilpin are a specimen of the mal-administration of justice to the poor and friendless, the following will show that a genteel position in society did not always shield the suitor from flagrant and premeditated wrong. "I must just tell you a tale: I heard a great while ago, a tale of one (I saw the man that told me the tale not long ago in this auditory). He hath travelled in more countries than one. He told me that there was once a pretor in Rome, lord mayor in Rome, a rich man, one of the richest merchants in all the city, and suddenly he was cast in the castle Angell. It was heard of, and every man whispered in one another's ear, What hath he done? hath he killed any man? No. Hath he meddled with alum, our holy Father's merchandize? No. Hath he counterfeited our holy Father's bulls? No. For these were high treasons. One

\* Latimer's 5th Serm. before Edward. † 3rd Serm. *ibid.*



rounded another in the ear, and said *Erat dives*. He was a rich man. A great fault. Here was a goodly prey for that holy Father. It was in Pope Julius's time; he was a great warrior. This prey would help him to maintain his wars; a jolly prey for our holy Father. So this woman was *Dives*. She was a rich woman, she had her lands by the sheriff's nose. He was a gentleman of a long nose. Such a cup, such a cover, she would not depart from her own. The sheriff was a covetous man, a worldly man. The judge at the empaneling of the quest, had his grave looks, and charged them with this, it was the king's matter, look well upon it; when it makes for their purpose, they have the king, the king, in their mouths; well, somewhat there was, there was walking of angels between them. I would wish that of such a judge in England now, we might have the skin hanged up. It were a goodly sign, the sign of the judge's skin. It should be Lot's wife, to all judges that should follow after." \*

When the judge was of this character, the lawyer was little likely to be better. "The lawyers, if they are examined diligently, there will be so many found among them who disquiet the ship of this commonwealth, that few or none will be found clear. And among the lawyers I put judges and justices, the one for gain care not to defend the falsest causes and most unjust matter that can be brought unto him, and promises, like a thief, the cause is good, till he has emptied his poor client's purse. Then he washes his hands with as much foul seeming of honesty as he can, and refers the doubtful cause, which is above his learning, to the ignorant men of the shire, to be judged at home like a fool; whereas his purse can no longer cause his prattler and ignorant lawyer to keep his cause aloof

\* Latimer's 6th Serm. before Edward.



and out of the shire. And indeed such a subject as cannot find in his heart to end his contention according to God's laws, without strife, by the arbitrement of those that are his neighbours, deserves to find such a Jonah as will never leave blowing at his purse, till he has unladed it even to the bottom, and has caused him to spend as much in recovery of twenty shillings by lease, as might have purchased twenty in fee simple. I condemn not the law, that is good ; but these thieves that abuse the law : for their doings are nothing but guile and deceit, and a noble kind of thievery." \*

xv. Matters certainly did not mend as Edward attained an age when he might be supposed effectively to influence the movements of the government. As liberal opinions spread, "ambition and emulation among the nobility, presumption and disobedience among the common people, grew so extravagant and insolent, that England seemed to be in a downright frenzy." † The wise and good among the papists grew confirmed in their persuasion that a corrupt church was better than no church at all ; the worthless mourned over their lost pageantry and plundered benefices ; and it is surprising how readily even the nobles withdrew from spoil almost their own, when popery, purged of many practical abuses, but theoretically worse than ever, came back to renew the agitation which none but His voice who stilled the waves of Galilee could have quelled. Unfortunately, and in the present instance incorrectly, men judge of a faith by the works it produces. What Edward seized they saw Mary endeavour to restore, and they more blessed the giver than the receiver.

xvi. It will not easily be believed, however, that any great moral improvement took place in the short and melancholy reign of Mary. Although Brokes might

\* Hooper's 3d Serm. on Jonah. † Camden in Dod. II. 221.



stand at Paul's Cross, and draw a parallel between her ecclesiastical measures and Christ raising the daughter of Jairus, and Pole address her in language appropriated to the blessed virgin, the return to popery could not possibly renovate—could not but deteriorate the morals of the age. The preachers indeed were too politic to admit into their discourses what the reformers had owned candidly enough, nor would it be easy to find in any public acknowledgments from them that the lapse into superstition had not made them better men. A remarkable assertion of the reverse, however, was made by Abbot Feckenham, in the House of Lords, when the Reformation was about to be restored by Elizabeth. Of three tests which he desires to have impartially applied to the two religions, the third is, “which of them both doth breed more obedient, humble and better subjects; first and chiefly unto our Saviour and Redeemer; secondly unto our sovereign lady the Queen's highness, and to all other superiors.”

“And for some trial and probation thereof, I shall desire your lordships to consider the sudden mutation of the subjects of this realm sithence the death of good Queen Mary.....The subjects of this realm, and especially the nobility and such as were of the honourable council, did in Queen Mary's days know the way unto churches and chapels, there to begin their day's work with calling for help and grace by humble prayers and serving of God; and now sithence the coming and reign of our most sovereign and dear lady Queen Elizabeth, by the only preachers and scaffold players of the new religion all things are turned upside down, notwithstanding the queen's majesty's proclamations most godly made to the contrary, and her virtuous example of living, sufficient to move the hearts of all obedient subjects to the due service and honour of God. But obedience is gone, humility and meekness



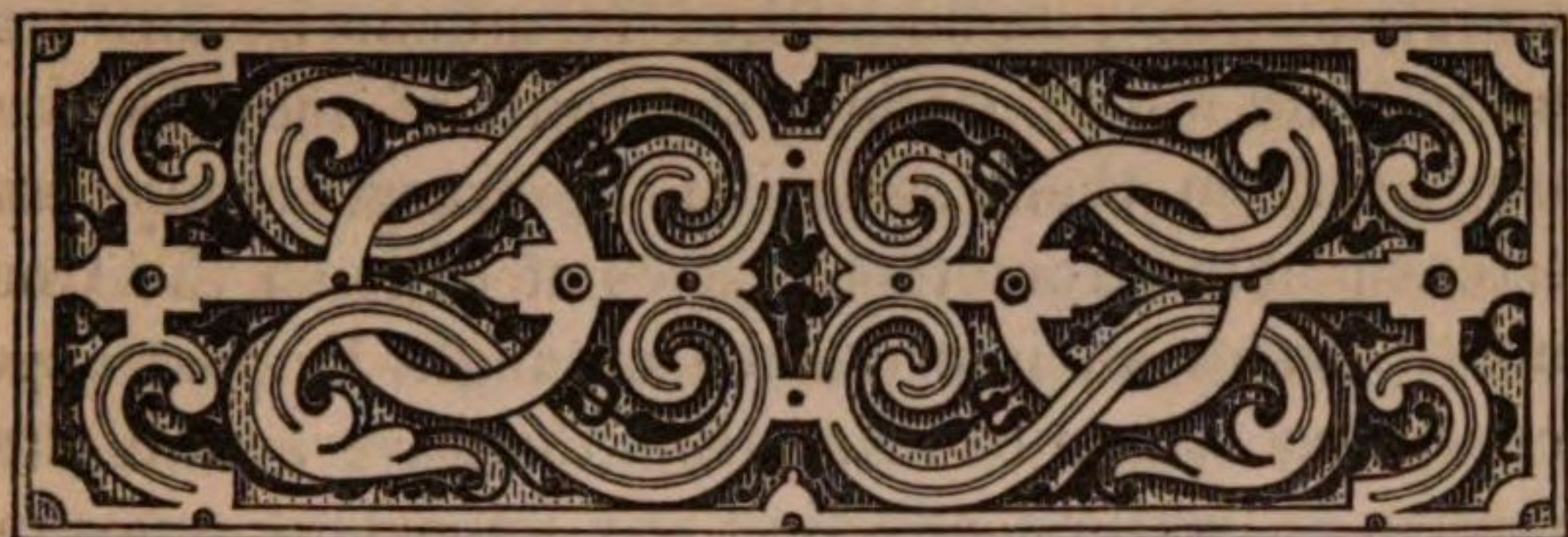
clear abolished, virtuous chastity and straight living denied as though they had never been heard of in this realm, all degrees and kinds being desirous of fleshly and carnal liberty, whereby the young springalls and children are degenerate from their natural fathers, the servants contemptuous of their master's commandments, the subjects disobedient to God and all superior powers." \*

The Protestants, of course, held different language. Bishop Poyntet emphatically declared, that he should never make an end if he should tell all he had seen and known of the demoralization, bad government, and crime under Queen Mary; and as the probability is that another change in religion would be another step towards effacing religious feeling, I prefer the bishop's to the abbot's testimony. Meanwhile the lamentations of papists were all for the past—the miseries of the time of schism—the fall in which they had been involved, and its consequences. The sermons of Brokes, Watson, Harpsfield, and other Romish preachers are full of such complaints. "I leave here to speak of the unshameless breaking of dead men's testaments, and their most godly intents and ordinances. Abbeys are pulled down, colleges and chantries are overthrown, churches are robbed, and poor Christ, that is to say, the hungry and needful people, famish and cry out therefore." † This preaching would not be unpopular, for strong as was the disgust at monasteries, the poor had discovered a double meaning in the imperial jest on their dissolution. Henry had killed the goose that laid golden eggs.

\* Strype, Ann. II. 436.

† H. Pendleton's Homily, in the Profitable Doctrine.





## CHAPTER VIII.

## STATE OF MORALS UNDER ELIZABETH.

“As we may not reveal all sins, lest the uncircumcised rejoice, so we may not cover some sins, lest the uncircumcised increase.”  
—*Smith's Glass for Drunkards.*

## I.

“**L**AUDAVI mortuos magis quam viventes,” said White, as he rose in the pulpit of Westminster Abbey, and commenced his sermon on the death of Queen Mary. But while he described her holiness and virtues, evils to come alarmed his imagination, and gave him for a moment an eloquence beyond his own. “I warn you, the wolves be coming out of Geneva, and other places in Germany, and hath sent their books before, full of pestilent doctrines, blasphemy, and heresy, to infect the people; if the bishops, I say, and ministers, in this case should not give warning, but, for fear or flattery with the world, forsake their places, and thereby give occasion to the wolf to enter and devour the flock, then should the more mighty be more mightily scourged, and the blood of the people should be required at their hands.” Such were the brave words with which he defended a bishopric he held simoniacally, and exasperated the “living dog” by his praise of the “dead lion.”

II. But reformers hailed Elizabeth's accession as the rising of a “bright occidental star.” With a love of



theoretical truth, undiminished in ardour by any fear that it could fail to produce the fruits of holiness, they rose up from their seclusion in every county, and hastened home from their places of exile on the Continent. With an imprudence untaught by past experience, they strove to wring from the government such reforms as, without affecting any important question, would most irritate the feelings and wound the prejudices of their opponents. The queen, on the other hand, whose aversion to decided measures was encouraged by Cecil and Parker, wished to avoid as much as possible that commotion which the ebb and flow of religious opinion was sure to produce, by keeping up many externals of the former worship, and leaving it to the united influences of instruction and time to reduce the popular estimate of their importance.

III. Unfortunately, however, Elizabeth did not live a life of faith. The field, the dance, the bear garden, and the stage, succeeded so constantly and rapidly on her morning studies in theology, that it seems strange how any but courtiers could imagine that they had calmed her mind and made her happiness. She was a gay, worldly, scheming woman. The papists hated her for what she did; the reformers doubted her for what she did not; and both, to a greater extent than they ought, forgot the Saviour's new commandment in contending earnestly for what each thought the faith once delivered to the saints. Meanwhile, many new causes of moral declension began to operate, which had hitherto been comparatively inefficient; and the queen's personal popularity in the early part of her reign was itself an evil, when it made fashionable the oaths she swore, and the dissipation and sacrilege she indulged in.

IV. The circulation of immoral books appears to have received a stimulus in this reign which startled those



who looked upon printing as an important antidote to moral ill ; “ more papists be made,” says R. Ascham, “ by your merry books of Italy, than by your earnest books of Louvain.” Whether the reformers went exactly in the best way to counteract it is questionable. The old plebeian literature was strongly imbued with popish legendary superstition. This was denounced with the utmost zeal by numbers who would have regarded Chaucer and Hawes with more favourable eyes, and read without pain Parkhurst’s *Ludicra*, and the Epigrams of Buchanan ; but the appetite for reading was growing ravenous among all classes. The little black-letter duodecimos, now “ cheaply purchased for their weight in gold,” changed hands with incredible rapidity ; and although the new tales and metrical compositions do not appear to have been worse than the reprints of older works, if indeed they were not decidedly better, they were most injurious collectively. “ They,” says Deringe, speaking of the last generation, “ They had their spiritual enchantments in which they were bewitched,—Bevis of Hampton, Guy of Warwick, Arthur of the Round Table, Huon of Bordeaux, Oliver of the Castle, the Four Sons of Aymon, and a great many other of such childish folly. And yet more vanity than these, the witless devices of Garagantua, Howelglasse, Esop, Robin Hood, Adam Bell, Friar Rush, the Fools of Gotham, and a thousand such other. And yet of all the residue, the most drunken imaginations with which they defiled their festivals and high holy days, their legendary, their saints’ lives, their tales of Robin Goodfellow, and many other sprites, which Satan had made, hell had printed, and were warranted into sale, under the pope’s privilege, to kindle in men’s hearts the sparks of superstition, that at last it might flame out into the fire of purgatory. These were in the former days.....but as though



the wickedness of our fathers were not yet full, we will make up their measure..... To this purpose we have printed us many bawdy songs....our sonnets, our palaces of pleasure, our unchaste fables, and such like sorceries, more than man can reckon. Yea, some have been so impudent as new-born Moabites, which wallow in their own vomit, and have not been ashamed to entitle their books the Court of Venus, and the Castle of Love, and many such other as shameless as these." \* This was not an evil likely to abate, and at the close of Elizabeth's reign Topsell says from the pulpit, "We have heresy and blasphemy and paganism and bawdry committed to the press, to be commended in print: there is no Italian tale so scurrilous, or fable so odious, or action so abominable, but some have adventured to defend the same."

v. The extraordinary and sudden impulse which dramatic entertainments had received was fully as abundant a source of evil. When Henry died, it is tolerably certain that not a single comedy existed in the English language. Between that event and 1662, Still's "Gammer Gurton's Needle," and Lord Sackville's "Ferrex and Porrex," appeared. Fifteen years later, eight playhouses were open every Sunday. It is probable that in many of these places a great deal of Fescennine licence was taken; and such extempore theatricals as are still sometimes practised in the low Neapolitan theatres were fashionable. Judging, however, of the Elizabethan drama by such plays as have fallen into the writer's hands, before the age of Shakespeare, he cannot but think the charge of gross indecency scarcely sustained. That they were doing immense mischief by desecrating the Sabbath, and entangling youth in debasing associations, is certain.

\* Deringe, in Preface to his Necessary Catechism.



That the writers for the stage were dissolute men, "sack and claret the inspirers of their imagination, and the tavern the hotbed of their poetry" is equally true; but did anything come from Edwards, Peele, Greene, Marlowe, Kyd, Nash, Lupton, or Lily, equaling the awful profanity of Shelton's *Nigramansir*, (1504,) or the blasphemy and indecencies of Heywood, (1533,) whose four Ps. as much resembled dramatic characters as any who had yet affected that honour? If not, the feeling of the age was improving, for the morality of the writers certainly was not.

Such were the evil agencies which, in addition to those which affected the former reigns, shed their miasm on this, and made men who expected no less than an era of holiness unto the Lord, turn their eyes on every gathering cloud, and fear it must burst in vengeance over a nation which scorned his prophets, and blasphemed his name. Scarcely a clergyman of the age was free from this feeling, which shall now be illustrated by extracts from the sermons of divines, who, differing in many points, agreed in this.

VI. William Alley, "a jolly preacher," as a contemporary admirer styles him, who had resigned a benefice on the accession of Mary, and lived by practising physic in the north, where his person was unknown, read a lecture at St. Paul's in 1560. During this exercise, he was much insulted; but before his course was completed, he was made Bishop of Exeter. He appears to have been a learned, and, for the times in which he lived, a moderate man, but full of hope, as he must be supposed, at the return of protestantism. He had observed and anticipated mischief from the popular literature and the stage. Eloquence he had none with which to denounce abuses; but his quiet protestation against them is on record. In his second *Prælection*, he wishes that the nobility and gentry would "rather



have in their houses God's book (out of which they may learn the will of God) than the Book of King Arthur, the Book of Troilus, and such other vain profane vanities and wanton books." And in a note he pursues the subject—"Alas, are not almost all places in these days replenished with jugglers, scoffers, jesters, players, which may say and do what they lust, be it never so fleshly and filthy? and yet suffered and heard with laughing and clapping of hands." The only books he names are the Romaunt of the Rose, and the Fables of Omerus Danus; but he saw the probability of such books abounding. "I speak it with sorrow of heart, to our vice ballet-makers, and enditors of wanton songs, no revengement but rewards are largely paid and given." \*

VII. Twelve or thirteen years afterwards, Edward Deringe, once chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, held the post that Alley had resigned, but discharged its duties with less moderation, if with more ability, and lost it under less agreeable circumstances, being suspended on articles gathered from his latter readings, certainly not worse than many which had previously passed unnoticed. Allowance must be made for the different tempers of the men, but society looked much darker in the eyes of Deringe than it seemed to Alley. He speaks of the corruption of magistrates as "a desperate disease, and for him let it grow till it be rottenness in their bones; he speaks not in hope of any amendment." † Thinks "it were better for us that we were again in the dark days and blackness of our old superstition, than thus openly to hear the gospel, and little or nothing give heed to it; but this case is almost desperate;" ‡ foresees the destruction of our ungrateful church; § and bewails the dissolution of every civil

\* Poor Man's Library, p. 63, and the Lecture, p. 56.

† Deringe's XIII. Reading. ‡ XII. ditto. § VII. ditto.



and religious bond, the covenant with death and agreement with hell that distinguished the habits of society in his day.\* One passage in the Thirteenth Reading is remarkable, as summing up the whole of the administrative reforms which, in his opinion, the church could rejoice over; a passage, by the way, suppressed in the first edition of the Lectures, for obvious reasons. "But this is the unfaithfulness of our manners wherein yet though we be a grief to our brethren, yet are we not a shame to our enemies, for they in these worldly things do infinitely exceed us. We have gracious lords too much occupied in worldly business, but we have no free princes; we have soft clothing, but we have no sceptres; we have palaces, but we have no castles of defence; we have serving men with swords and bucklers, but we have no garrison of soldiers to ward about us; and we have pluralities, but we have no tot-quotes; we have non-residents, but I know no dispensations to laymen or boys; and we have poor curates, but I trust few drunkards or.....such as served at their altars. There are among us bishopricks that have commendams, but there was never one of us Archbishop of York, Bishop of Winchester, Abbot of St. Albans, and Lord Chancellor of England, as Cardinal Wolsey was. This I say lest any should mislike our truth for the faults of our men, for in our adversaries' tents these sour vines are planted and grow; and we have but eaten of their grapes." †

VIII. Bishop Cooper, an able and eloquent man, though spoiled by the tastes and notions of his age, preached at Lincoln in 1575, where he expressed his opinion of reformed morality very strongly. At the end of a long declamation on the signs of the times, not very indicative of scientific knowledge or accurate observation, he exclaimed—"And when, I pray you,

\* Deringe's IV. Reading.

† XIII. ditto.



was there, since the world was first made, so great security in sin, such contempt of godliness, such confidence in worldly prosperity, such feasting, banqueting, and dainty feeding, such gorgeousness in apparel, such sumptuousness in building, such unseasonable marrying.....such raking and scraping together of worldly pelf, as if men did determine to abide still upon the face of the earth, or as if every man did strive to pass other in riot and sensuality. And when they have consumed themselves with monstrous excess in all pleasure, then, not contented with that they have, by hook or by crook they pull from other—even from the ministers of Christ, even from the church of God.”

Referring to 2 Timothy, chap. iii., he proceeds—“Who would not think that St. Paul did in spirit foresee the manners of this time and these days into which we are fallen, and those wicked vices wherewith the world is even now overwhelmed! What state of men is there in which most of these vices do not show themselves, and that in such manner as never in any age the like? What slack and corrupt government in the magistrates, what stubbornness and disobedience in subjects, what pride and self-liking in the rich and wealthy, what spite and envy in the poor and beggarly, what looseness and wantonness in youth, what covetousness and waywardness in age, what cockering and evil example of life in parents, what unnaturalness and waywardness in children, what headiness and fierceness in masters, what negligence and untruth in servants! What craft, subtilty, and deceit, what counterfeiting and dissimulating, what false and unjust dealing, almost in all men! Truth and sincerity is banished, cozening and falsehood is esteemed, wisdom and Christian simplicity is accounted peevish folly..... All the bonds that a man’s wit can devise will scarcely



hold that which one man covenanteth with another."\*

ix. John Caldwell, who writes himself parson of Winwick, preached before the Earl of Derby, in 1577, a sermon, printed by that lord's command. This discourse was, in fact, an eulogy on the Reformation—a congratulatory address on England's escape from the clutches of antichrist. It contains admissions, however, somewhat humiliating to the Christian preacher. "A 'prentice in seven years will learn his occupation. The little children that go to school go forward in learning .....but, alas! we have gone to school not seven years, but eighteen years; we have had many notable schoolmasters and teachers, and yet for all this we be little amended, but like very block-heads we tarry still in our old lessons, and will not take forth into good manners and new conditions. Yea, we are more slow to hear God's word, and to frame our lives thereafter, than we were when it was first preached, and we rather go backward than forward ..... there is no vice and wickedness, but it is daily committed amongst us. Marriage love decayeth, and whoredom's love increaseth."† A statement in which there must have been some truth, or Grindal would hardly have called "to precisely keep his wedlock, a notable virtue in any man."‡

x. John Chardon, a native of Devonshire, a fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, "was wonderfully followed for his edifying sermons." He was a frequent preacher at the Cross, and in 1596 became Bishop of Down and Connor. In preparing for the pulpit, he did not disdain to accept assistance from the published works of his brethren, or the coincidence of manners at Exeter and Lincoln suggested the same thoughts to him which had been uttered five years before by

\* Godly sermon, preached at Lincoln.

† Sermon on Rom. xiii. 11, 14. ‡ Sermon on Matt. vii. 21.



Cooper at the latter place. The imitation, however, if such it be, is not most evident in the passage that best answers the present purpose; the date of the sermon is 1580.

“ If we compare the time present with that which is past, and set the manner of men before our eyes, we shall perceive wickedness to have his ripeness, and to reign almost everywhere without controulment. For notwithstanding that God, through his unspeakable mercy in these latter days, hath given us the use of his most holy word, whereby we should frame our lusts and affections according to his most holy will, what desire of righteousness, what love of virtue, what care of godliness, or what zeal of religion is there to be found? yea, who is not in Christianity either cold or careless? We may now plainly see greatest vice to be counted for chiefest virtue, and those men to be most commended which of all other for impiety ought most to be dispraised. For the crafty deceitful men are counted wise, the covetous are called good husbands, the prodigal are called liberal, and rich men are deemed the best men. Besides, St. Paul foresheweth that in the last days perilous times shall come, for men, saith he, shall be lovers of themselves, covetous, boasters, proud, cursed speakers, disobedient to fathers and mothers, unthankful, unholy, unkind, and so forth; and when did men more set by themselves, when were they more covetous, when were they more proud, when more given to cursed speaking, when more disobedient to father and mother, when more unthankful, when more unholy, when more unkind? and to be short, when more given over to work wickedness, and that with all kind of greediness, than at these days? and therefore it must needs follow, the coming of Christ to judgment to be near at hand.” \*

\* Sermon on Luke xxi. 25.



XI. Stockwood, the Tunbridge schoolmaster, preaching at Paul's Cross the same year, speaks more rudely and plainly; but the facts he vouches for do certainly show a sad state of society. Declamation may often deceive, but unless his testimony can be invalidated, anecdotes such as follow cannot mislead us. Speaking of the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth in 1578, he says:—"We were unworthy of him then, we are unworthy of her now; we contemned the word preached under him then, we are weary of it preached under her majesty now; there was much teaching under him and small following, there is more teaching under her now, and a great deal less following..... "It is set down by the prophet for one of the causes of the children of Israel's being led into captivity, for that they kept not the Lord's sabbath..... We, notwithstanding, on the Lord's day must have fair kept, must have bear-baiting, bull-baiting (as if it were a thing of necessity for the bears of Paris garden to be baited on a Sunday), must have bawdy interludes, silver games, dicing, carding, tabling, dancing, drinking. And what, I pray you, is the penalty of the offenders herein? forsooth, a flap with a fox's tail; as if our Saviour Christ had come for his day to set us at liberty to do what we list. And truly a lamentable thing it is to tell, but a great deal more lamentable that it is not punished. I dare boldly stand to avouch it, that there is no day in the week wherein God is so much dishonoured as on that day, when he should be best served. .... Will not a filthy play with the blast of a trumpet sooner call a thousand than an hour's tolling of the bell bring to the sermon an hundred? Nay, even here in the city, without it be at this place [Paul's Cross], and some other certain ordinary audience, where shall you find a reasonable company?" Smith adds to this, that the devil kept men



in their shops on appointments of business at sermon time.\*

It appears it was impossible to attend the playhouse and the preacher too. The same speaker says—"They will alledge that they play not in the time of the sermons, albeit that is no reason why they should be suffered on the Lord's day, which is wholly to be spent in his service; yet the people that resort thither, if they will have any convenient place to hear, must be there before the time of sermons, and also all the sermon while too, which is cause sufficient to restrain them. When God visiteth your city with the sickness, that they begin once to die in any number, then by-and-by cometh forth a prohibition to forbid them; but God once ceasing his heavy hand, and staying his plague among you, then by-and-by again go the bills on every post, and on this Sunday and on that Sunday you shall have such a wanton matter at such a place and such a place, and thither run the people thick and threefold as they say, so that you shall have your churches in most places empty, whereas the theatres of the players are as full as they can throng."

Such were the troubles of the city incumbent. The rural clergyman, however, had his share. "I likewise humbly desire the honourable and worshipful of her majesty's high commission, and all others whom it concerneth, to rid us of idle loiterers, fiddlers and minstrels, with whom we are on the Lord's day as much troubled as you are with players; for they pipe away all our audience in many places, so pleasant a thing it is to dance after the devil..... There be not many places where the word is preached besides the Lord's day, yet even that day the better part of it is horribly profaned by devilish inventions, as with lords of misrule, morrice dancers, May games, insomuch that in

\* Serm. on Luke viii. 18.



some places they shame not in the time of divine service to come and dance about the church, and without to have men naked dancing in nets, which is most filthy." When the extent of London at that time as compared to this is considered, the avidity here described with which dramatic entertainments were sought after, and the scarcity even in London of good preachers, the balance of influence between the playhouse and pulpit may be easily struck. Eight theatres, it seems, were open every Sunday. The Theatre, the Curtain, the Globe, and five others, "receiving with the least .....by playing but once a week, whereas many times they play twice and thrice, it amounteth to 2000*l.* a year." With such a reservoir of moral ill continually emptying itself, yet always replenished, no wonder the preacher had to rebuke "swearing amongst all degrees and states of people, from the lord to the beggar, and from the courtier to the carter, yea, to the young child of three years old;" the inundation of immoral books, "the Amadis, I trow it, the great Palace of Pleasure, and the Little Palace of Pleasure, with a number more such books with which this churchyard swarmeth;" "the usual putting away of wives upon slight dislikings," and all the train of depravity.\*

XII. In answer to all this it will be said, that pure religion may have done much for a country where all these abominations existed. Wherever multitudes congregate in large cities, there will be sinks of iniquity, the being of which appears incredible to persons living within a street of them. Vice dwells everywhere, and only changes its aspect with the age; but clergymen are often brought into contact with it by their office; and every one feels on a first discovery as if some new monster, unknown in former days, had just started into being. Be it so—but these complaints relate to things

\* Various sermons by Stockwood.



that forced themselves on every eye, and jarred on every virtuous ear; and though we listen for every apology that can be made for them, we can scarcely shake off the impression that religion had declined as they advanced in popularity. Improved views of the object of faith had given no increased fervour to the act of faith, while that general respectful feeling towards religion, which, however delusive to the individual, answers the purposes of society, and witnesses to sincere Christians that they are the salt of the earth, had passed away. Indeed, when we find the most noted preachers in the most conspicuous London pulpits, on the most public occasions stating as well known and admitted facts, that among mercantile men, in a position to stand for the mayoralty, there were many who would “deny both words and writing, if ye cannot prove it; though it be his hand and seal, if he may gain anything by denying it to be his deed, it was never his deed.”\* That “gentlemen and rich men are ashamed to have so much as a bible in their houses:”† that children at “three years old”‡—“I tremble to speak it—as soon as they are born they are accustomed to blaspheme,” and caressed for turning the oath prettily upon the tongue. That bullies were wont to meet the stranger in the street, and offer an appointment for bloody duel “if he be a man of his hands.” That “gentlemen and serving men” were constantly thus engaged in “frays and bloodsheds that are in and about London;” § and, that, when any attempt was made to bring such homicides to trial, there was “oppression in the judgment seat; those that should pull the spoil out of the jaws of the oppressors commit violence, robbery, and murder, themselves; they that should be the staff of the poor man’s

\* Crowley, before the Mayor, 1575.

† Topsell, p. 58.

‡ Stockwood, 1578.

§ Hill, 1593.



estate are an iron rod to bruise them to pieces." When Drant could say "I will ask you [nobles] whether, if one chance to kill one that hath your badge or mark, he be sure of execution or not? but if any of yours chance to kill one, whether that then, through the privilege of your badge and mark, he is not untouchable?"\* it is scarcely possible to deny the parallel drawn by Lawrence Barker, "that as Rachel the younger [wife of Jacob] was well eyed, very beautiful, yet barren in her womb and brought forth no children; so is this latter age quick sighted, exceeding full of knowledge; but, alas, her womb is barren. She wants at her knees those blessed twins of holiness unto God, and righteousness toward men.†

XIII. The following passages—one from a discourse by John Tomkys, preached at Shrewsbury in 1584; another from a sermon at Paul's Cross, by Bishop Curtess, in the same year; a third by Knewstub; and a fourth, by Bishop Robinson, of uncertain date—describe a people whose religion had dwindled into a civil observance, who had substituted the love of party for the love of right, the hearing of sermons for the obedience of faith, before whom the preacher stood ineffectual and powerless.

"If we compare age with age, and fault with fault, we find that ignorance and superstition were the faults of the age past, and that the blemishes of our age are carelessness as well in learning God's will in his word, as in expressing the same in our life in some, and dissimulation counterfeiting love with men and zeal to God in others. How far these men are from the right imitation of Christ, which was eaten up with the zeal of God's house, in whose mouth was found no guile, God which knoweth the secrets of the heart doth know,

\* Serm. at the Spittle, 1572.

† Ep. dedicatory to Barker's Sermons, 1600.



and their consciences whenever they are guilty do bear them witness. Hath God lit up the candle of his word, and do we contemn the benefit of the light? hath God delivered us in these days many talents, and do we deliver him none back with increase? What, then, must we look for?" &c.\*

The Bishop of Chichester forms much the same opinion of the national religion.

"Our English Church, God be blessed, is clothed with the robe of Christ's profession, and truly is crowned with infinite stars, and good professors of his word, and yet it is wonder to see how cold the zeal of it is, how little hate of sin it hath. In days past, whosoever did travel and was pained to bring forth the word of God and virtue and truth, was liked and furthered of all men; bad persons were generally hated and disliked, but now it is quite the contrary. I mean not to say, nor I cannot say, that there are so many or so great malefactors as hath been in other times; but this I may say, and this I must say, that there is not the devotion towards God, nor that love of virtue, nor that hate of sin that was in time of darkness.....

"A man is not liked because he doth well, nor disliked because he doth evil; but now there is an art to heap and throng a sort into one faction, and they bind themselves to speak and do all the evil they can devise by such as they dislike be they never so good, and to speak and do all the good they can for such as they like be they never so bad, yea though the badness be marked to the eye." †

Knewstub, who cannot be suspected of undervaluing preaching, has given one reason of this absence of any energetic demonstrations of religion excellently well.

"I need not greatly to speak unto the most that be

\* Serm. on Eph. v. 12. Tomkys.

† Serm. at Paul's Cross, on Rev. xii. 1, 9.



here that they should leave those foolish works of good meaning, as going on pilgrimage, setting up of shrines, and such like things received among the papists. His name be praised, that madness is descried, and a great number of themselves begin now to blush at it. But the outward ceremonies of religion, as resorting to common prayer, hearing of sermons, or such other; these have obtained now the title of the true service of God, and shut out obedience unto the duties commanded by the word. These hold men now from the care of duties appointed by the word, as devised devotion kept them in popery from true religion; these are the good intents of gospellers at this day, and as the Lord spake of his sacrifices, commanded in his word when men were holden in those without any care of good life, 'He that killeth a bullock is as if he slew a man,' &c. so may it be truly said of a great number, that the Lord hateth their resorting to prayer and sermons, *they* are now become their own ways which they have chosen, because they are sundered from Christian conversation and amendment of life."\*

Nicholas Robinson, a moderate and pious man, spoke to much the same effect. He had been a sufferer in the reign of Mary; but like his venerable patron, Archbishop Parker, dismissed all revengeful feelings when he came into power. He was Chaplain to the primate, Archdeacon of Merioneth, and ultimately Bishop of Bangor. The following fragment of a discourse, preached in some great audience in London, was printed by Strype, from Parker's papers:—

"It is a pitiful case to see abroad, in country and town (and we may see it daily if we shut not our eyes), godly preaching heard without remorse or repentance, lawful prayers frequented without any devotion, fastings kept without affliction, holy days kept without any

\* Second Lecture on Exodus. Knewstub.



godliness, almsgiving without compassion, Lent openly holden without any discipline. And what fruit may be looked for upon so simple a seed sowing? He will not come to church but that the law compelleth him, he will never be partaker of the most reverend mysteries if he might otherwise avoid shame, he heareth the chapters to jeer at them afterwards, he cometh to the sermon for fashion's sake only, he makes himself minister to get a piece of a living, he sings stoutly for the stipend only. Chrysostom, eloquently lamenting the corrupt manners of his days universally throughout all estates, high and low, rich and poor, man and wife, master and servant, judgeth all at length to spring of this root, that things in the church were done *ὡς κατὰ συνηθειῶν*, as it were for fashion's sake only, as church prayer, God's word, sacraments, service, &c. And, alas! among us for fashion's sake men of worship have chaplains, peradventure to say service; for fashion's sake simple men are presented to cures, and have the name of parsons; for fashion's sake some hear the Scripture to laugh at the folly thereof; for fashion's sake merchantmen have Bibles, which they never peruse; for fashion's sake some women buy Scripture books, that they may be thought to be well disposed; yea, for fashion's sake many good laws are lightly put in execution, and so forth; and many carry death\* on their fingers when he is never nigh their hearts. He abhorreth superstition, because he would live as he list; he is a protestant, because of his lands; I warrant you he hateth the pope, because he is married; he must needs be a favourer of religion, because of his promotions. From all these fashions, what ill fashions in manners and life must spring we may easily conjecture.

\* Strype supposes a skull on a ring. The popularity of Holbein's Dance of Death may have brought such an ornament into fashion.



I fear me (and pray God from my heart it be not so) many deal now with God's sincere religion publicly professed (for which the Lord's name be blessed) as Dionysius the younger in his time did with philosophy, who indeed, though he maintained many philosophers at his house right well, and sometimes reasoned with them of the divinity, and conferred with them, yet in his heart he said he neither regarded nor esteemed them a haw; saving that by that means he might be thought of many, a philosopher or favourer of wisdom. Many think it enough to be thought Christians. Here I forgot the example of Saul, 'Honora me coram populo.'"

XIV. A gleam of sunshine broke out occasionally amid these boding clouds. That the minds of men who had witnessed such a convulsion as the Reformation, should have been deeply injured in spiritual condition is no more than every analogy would lead us to expect, but their generation had nearly passed away; another was rising to fill its place, and among the young men there was doubtless a great number who felt religion as a mighty and a stirring motive. Without pausing to enquire precisely what he meant (for no doubt Laud was not one of the young men to whom he alluded), the following passage from Henry Smith states very much the fact when he uttered it:

"The poor receive the gospel. The young men are more forward in the truth, and more zealous than the aged, the son than the father, the servant than his master. Once the younger brother stole away the blessing from the elder, therefore the elder hated him even for his zeal. And when was Jacob hated more than he is now, when was he so hated and persecuted as he is now by Esau? Yet in the old time men were more zealous in their age than even we hear of them to be in their youth; yea, they were zealous in the

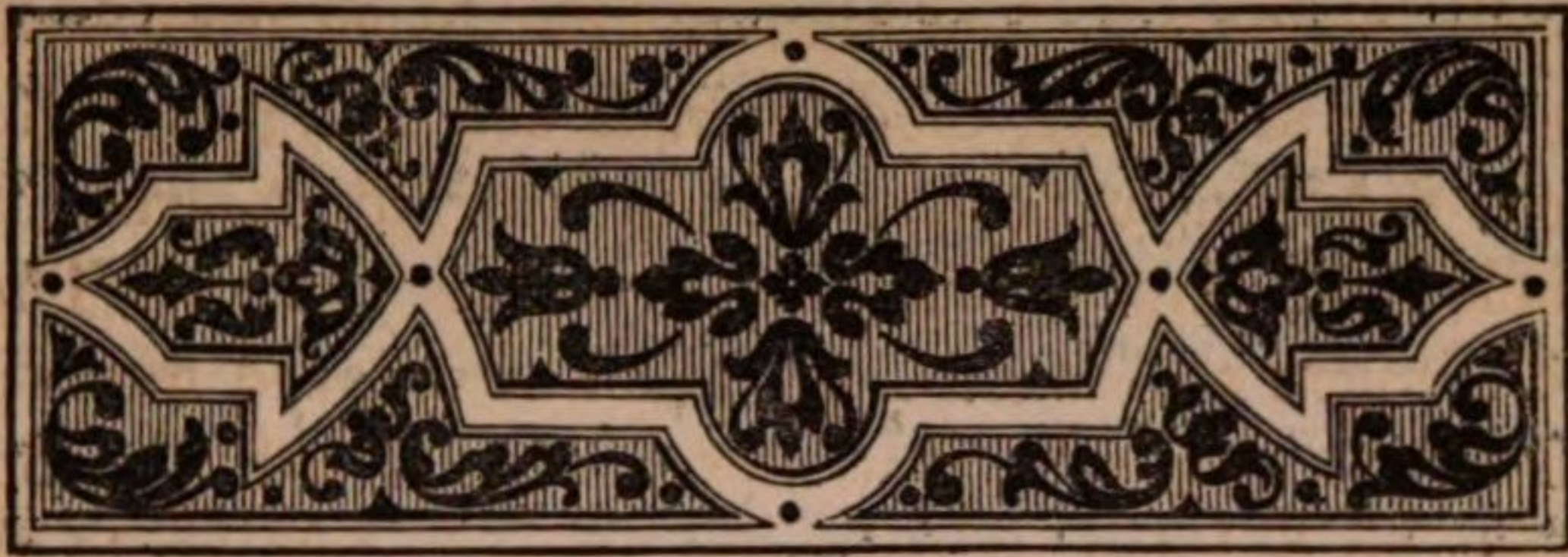


Lord's business. Age hindered not Noah from building of the ark when God commanded him ; age hindered not Simeon from rejoicing and mirth, when he beheld and embraced the Lord Jesus Christ. Then Old Simeon embraced Christ, and he enjoyed him with hearty joy and zeal, but now where is old Simeon ? There be but few of them to be seen coming to the temple to receive Christ, but now young men receive him, young Simeons, young Davids, young Samuels, young Timothies, and young Onesimus, and the young infants begin to speak again. The young have him, they are zealous, and I hope they will keep him, though old men neglect him. Satan, thou hast too much for nothing already."\*

But enough. To explore in this way the defects of those whom, on many accounts, we venerate, and the failures of men who succeeded in laying the basis of a just religious liberty, and presenting the faith they professed to the world, not as a routine of observances, but a habit of thought and feeling, a real communing with God, is repulsive work ; yet there are times when it becomes necessary and right. When their mistakes are defended, their bigotry taught, and the nakedness and dishonour, in which they left the church their mother, made a reason why she should never be better clad, nor more respected, every lover of truth should boldly disavow the worship of departed saints, and aver that not the blood of a martyr in the holiest cause can make his errors truths, nor his faults virtues.

\* Sermon on Song of Simeon.





## CHAPTER IX.

## THE PREACHERS AND THE PAPISTS.

.. horror antiquus expressa ad imaginem veritatis actione replicatur, ne sæculis transeuntibus exolescat quod aliquando commissum est. *Cyprian.*

## I.

THERE is something so apparently trite in the poet's line, which pronounces an honest man the noblest work of God, that the wisdom and philosophy of the aphorism is lost in its familiarity. Mere honesty is regarded as a sort of plebeian virtue, a refraining of the hands from picking and stealing, and not as it is, the response of the outward man to the voice of his conscience, embodying all that is majestic in virtue, and all that gives subjective reality to religion. However erroneously a man may think, while he evidently acts upon what he believes to be the right, his motives claim respect: and if he continues to do so in the face of dangers appalling to his nature, and agonies of bodily pain, he excites involuntary admiration. Conscience, as the guide of human action, never wears a form divested of all its original brightness, nor looks less than archangel ruined.

This should be remembered when we read the record of those men who, under false impressions, have acted fairly up to their principles in times of trial. The sword never bites sharper than when drawn in religious



warfare; and man's constancy—a quality he can exhibit on occasion in very extraordinary modes—never appears so splendid as when it is exerted under the influence of things invisible. No page in history is more suited to seize on the imagination than that which records the struggles of the Cameronians. The sere heath, where cruel and intolerant rebels assembled to worship the God of mercy, is ground which their devotion and valour have consecrated, and among the saints of poetry the cause does not constitute the martyr. There was, indeed, another class of men, fully as self-abandoning and devotionally-minded as the covenanters, but the heroes of a lost battle are soon forgotten; the acts and monuments which record them will never be popular; yet they were tortured, not accepting deliverance, for deeds done—if not without a mixture of secular motive—mainly in the hope of an incorruptible crown. Much in the state of religion, under Edward and Elizabeth, must have been unsatisfactory to any conscientious man. If, then, feeling disgust at his own, he saw the bright side of the Romish church, which, like every other, always looks best under persecution, he became, or resolved to continue, a papist. Resolving in such circumstances, he would be almost sure to surrender himself wholly to the papacy, and, estranged from all feelings of patriotism, save those which were connected with religion, he would be prepared to act as a missionary, devoutly believing that the greatest blessing he could bring upon his country would be the overthrow of its civil government.

II. No apology may be needed for the principle of laws by which such men were hanged, however disgraceful may have been their details; and yet is it possible not to admire them, wandering about the country in storm and darkness, to minister the consolations of religion to those who were morally unable to efface the



sacred impressions of their youth? Now concealed in the thatch of a peasant's cottage—then in some secret chamber in the thickness of a castle wall; now rejoicing over a congregation of numbers, whom no penalties could daunt from beholding their sacramental rite—then confirming the wavering, or reconciling the lapsed with apostolic zeal, until seized by the officers of justice, dragged to prison, to torture, and to death, and, under the legal fiction of felony, denied, as far as possible, the joy they would have felt were it acknowledged that they died for their religion. A skilful hand might shed a halo round their history, and incline to popery, by their memorials, many a mind which would not be dazzled by pomp and processions, nor convinced by lying wonders. Yet Campian and Cameron were alike heroes in the cause of schism, both as desirous to inflict as they were willing to suffer—both advocates of principles dangerous in themselves and mischievous in their results—both enemies of their country. And as protestant Englishmen have sympathized abundantly with confessors of the latter class, it may be well to advert to the trials of such men as the former under Edward and Elizabeth, not to blacken the characters of those reigns, but to read a lesson of humility and charity.

III. Indeed, before any one records a severe judgment on those sovereigns, he should determine the perplexed question, how far the civil magistrate has a right to interfere in religious matters. The father of a nation is certainly bound to foster the church (whatever he conceives that name to designate), and to make her the instructor of his children. If in doing so he is forced to use any severity to preserve her from interruption, the character of a persecutor will assuredly be affixed to him by the offending party, perhaps most undeservedly. If a pagan prince send a



Christian missionary into exile, he incurs the guilt of turning a deaf ear to the truth of God, and advocating error and corruption, however honestly he may act in so doing. But he does not necessarily incur guilt by preventing the original ingress of such a person, nor in executing any known law which will punish his return. The prince attempts not to convert him by violence, nor to make him tell a lie, but to silence him. He replies in the language of the apostles—"We cannot but speak." Then he must be prepared for the consequences, to drink of the cup they drank of; and whether he is engaged in planting Christianity or cleansing it from corruption, if he can produce no evidence of a mission ordinary nor extraordinary, he may very easily overrate the guilt of those who treat him as a disturber of the peace. The indulging of bigot doubts as to a man's sincerity in such circumstances, and treating him as a hypocrite—the extorting from him a denial of his convictions by terror or torture—the murdering him for his religion—these are crimes of the darkest dye, and the blood of saints and fanatics cry from the earth for vengeance against them; but if Christian men are to regard the king as supreme, the moral positions of the persecutor and martyr are very different, when the law is, to forbear the exercise of a public office—and the offence, an exercise of that office. In such a case, it is easy to see that there may be something wrong in the conduct of both parties; but according to the light of each, it is not easy to see how either could have acted otherwise, and yet employed all the talents God gave him in his service; nor, to carry out the same principle, how a reform in religion can take place without violating Christian duty, until the state sanctions a movement in the bosom of the church, or Heaven attests by miracles the special vocation which enthusiasts so often claim. But popery



taught, and protestantism (notwithstanding its disavowals) practised another lesson;—that it is lawful for one man to break open the doors of another's conscience, to force him to avow his convictions, or compel him to speak the language that his heart abhors; or, stranger folly, that it is possible, by enforcing the arguments of polemics with imprisonment, fine, and torture, to root out the deep persuasions of the understanding, or the stronger prejudices of education; that the man who was proof to all this moral and physical artillery, however stainless and sincere his conversation, was necessarily a hypocrite, who would not embrace the truth from sheer hatred of all truth; that as such he was a branch cut off by his own hand from the vine of the church,—separated as a maniac from intelligent men, rejected as a criminal from the society of the good, and only fit for temporal and everlasting burning. The reign of Henry had consigned to the gallows and the fire several protestant and popish martyrs, and had sanctioned the use of that mutually inflammatory language in the pulpit which was sure to produce many more. The weakness of Edward's, and the cruelty of Mary's government, ensured a continuation of the same system under Elizabeth, and rendered a well known exclamation at the proceedings of their father too descriptive of his daughters' policy—*"Hic suspenduntur papistæ hic comburuntur antipapistæ."*

IV. Under Edward, the Romanists were rather in an antagonist than a persecuted state. Submitting to most of the government orders, they scarcely disguised the fact that their compliance was a present yielding to circumstances, and how to attack this "heart malignity" often puzzled their opponents. It was unjustifiable conduct; but how to get rid of the men without enormous and palpable iniquity was a problem not easy



of solution. The preachers urged on their ejection at all hazards: "I require it in God's behalf; make them quondams, all the pack of them," said Latimer.\* Hooper is of the same opinion: "The bishops and priests unquiet the ship of this realm two manner of ways. One by the neglecting of their true duty, the other by a defence of a false and damnable superstition. In the primitive and apostolical church, the office of a bishop and priest was to teach in the congregation of the faithfuls the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, according to the commandment of Christ. (Matt. xxviii.; Mark xvi.; Eph. ii.) Now is this integrity turned into false idolatry and devilish superstition—to sing and say mass in the congregation of God. Thus, like thieves and murderers, they do the abomination commanded by man, with massing, conjuring the holy water bucket, and such like; and leave the preaching of God's word as God commandeth, and as the prophets and apostles have left us example. And say when godly kings and magistrates require and command a reformation of their evils, the ministry of the church is contemned with such false slanders, as the ignorant people will do more for the bishops and priests of Baal than for God, or God's word."†

"Then reform your colleges in the universities, and see that honest men have the leading and oversight of the youth. Such as will amend, let them tarry still in their offices; such as will not, your majesty must remove, if ever ye bring the ship to quietness. Unto the clerk from henceforth, as ye will answer for it, give no benefice or spiritual promotions to none but

\* Second Serm. before Edward.

† Hooper's Second Serm. A passage in a contemporary sermon reproves the eagerness with which all who were about to take holy orders resorted to Boner as to a saint or martyr on Elizabeth's accession.



so such a one as can and will preach true doctrine, or else teach unto the youth the catechism, and help the people with some good counsel; or else cast them all into the sea—that is, put them out of their office, and put better in their places. And beware of this ungodly pity wherewith all men for the most part are very much, now-a-days, cumbered withal, who will for pity rather let a fool or an evil man enjoy his benefice, than a thousand souls be brought to knowledge: this is no pity, but rather a cruelty and killing of the soul.” \*

v. In the truth of this last maxim both parties fully concurred, differing only in its application. No one stated it more clearly than Bishop Boner, in his homily *Of Christian Love and Charity*.†

“The one office of charity is to cherish good and innocent men; not to oppress them with false accusations, but to encourage them with rewards to do well, and persevere in well doing, defending them with the sword from their adversaries; and the office of bishops and pastors is to laud good men for well doing, that they may persevere therein, and to rebuke and correct, by the word of God, the offences and crimes of all evil-disposed persons.

“The other office is to rebuke, correct, and punish vice without exception of persons; and this is to be used against them only that be evil men and malefactors. And it is as well the office of charity to rebuke, punish, and correct them that be evil, as it is to cherish and reward them that be good and innocent. St. Paul so declareth writing to the Romans, and saying, the high powers are ordained of God, not to be

\* Hooper's Third Serm.

† This homily is evidently claimed as his own by Bishop Boner. All the others in the volume he set forth have the signature of Pendleton or Harpesfield. This alone has the initials E. B.



dreadful to them that do well, but unto malefactors, to draw the sword to take vengeance of him that committeth the sin. And St. Paul biddeth Timothy constantly and vehemently to rebuke the sin by the word of God; so that both offices should be diligently executed to impugn the kingdom of the devil,—the preacher with the word, and the governor with the sword. Else they love neither God nor them whom they govern, if for lack of correction they wilfully suffer God to be offended, and them whom they govern to perish; for as every loving father correcteth his natural son when he doth amiss, or else he loveth him not, so all governors of realms, countries, towns, and houses, should lovingly correct them who be offenders under their governance ..... And such rebukes and punishments must be done in time ..... And such evil persons that be great offenders of God and the commonwealth, charity requireth to be cut off from the body of the commonweal, lest they corrupt other good and honest persons, like as a good surgeon cutteth away a putrefied and festered member for the love he hath to the whole body adjoining it. Thus is declared unto you what true charity or Christian love is, so plainly that no man need to be deceived."

VI. Exasperated by the cruelties of Mary's reign, but restrained by the political caution of the government, the protestants regained their ascendancy, under circumstances which prevented them from staining their righteous victory with bloodshed; and it is perhaps justice to attribute it to the intriguing spirit of the Roman see, that a course so exemplary was at last forsaken. The moderate measures of Elizabeth were rewarded with a surprising degree of compliance; and had the protestant clergy entered into the spirit of them, it is possible that no machinations abroad might have broken up the unity at home. Pius V. however,



by two bulls, one for the confounding of heretics, issued in 1566; another excommunicating the queen, issued 1569, and set up on the bishop of London's palace gates in 1570, put an end to the compliance of the stricter papists, and drew down upon their heads a persecution. The queen, who, as Secretary Walsingham writes, had no "liking to make windows in men's hearts and secret thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and express acts," delayed severity until "the seminaries began to blossom, and to send forth daily priests and professed men.....  
... that by the poison which they spread the humours of most papists were altered, and that they were no more papists in conscience—but papists in faction; then were there new laws made for the punishment of such as should submit themselves to such reconcilements or renunciation of obedience."\*

VII. All this is clear and statesman-like; but the pulpit told a different tale, both in principle and spirit. The preachers do not seem to have gained any hold upon the truths on which the secretary and Lord Burleigh, in his "Execution for Justice," founded their defence of the penal laws. The theoretical position of the papists may be learned from the latter; their actual state is vividly depicted by the former. Exhortations to the government not to spare the shaven and greased idolaters, and offensive pictures of the Roman missionary and schoolmaster, are sufficiently frequent in the sermons of the sixteenth century; and it is utterly incomprehensible how they can have been

\* Collier, ii. 607. It is but fair to add, that the penal laws were executed with increased severity by Elizabeth's successor. "A gentlewoman was hanged only for relieving and harbouring a papist. A citizen was hanged only for being reconciled to the church of Rome; besides, the penal laws were such, and so executed, that they could not subsist."—*Goodman's Court of King James*, p. 100.



drawn as they were by men who had felt the power of conscience, and stood the test of adversity. The following is extracted from a sermon of Archbishop Sandys', preached at York on the anniversary of the queen's accession. His text was, "Take us the little foxes which destroy the vines." (Cant. ii. 15.) These he assumes to be "monks, friars, and massing priests;" and proceeds with sundry practical observations worthy of a grand Inquisitor.

"The pope hath sent his proctors abroad to pardon whatsoever is already past, so that men will now forsake the church of Christ, and join themselves unto the harlot inseparably henceforward, which to do they must take a solemn oath, and in token thereof wear some mark of the beast, as a cross, an *Agnus Dei*, a medal, or some such badge of recognizance. These popish proctors have poisoned many; and the observing of this most wicked oath hath made many silly souls, especially women, break their faith to Christ, their loyalty to their prince, and their promised obedience to their husbands....." Death, exile, confiscation, incarceration, these lawful means are wisely to be used of Christian magistrates, as traps to take these little foxes.

"The first is death. It is the Lord's commandment, 'Let the false prophet die;' 'Let the adulterer and the adulteress be put to death;' 'Let the blasphemer be stoned.' Moses observed this in destroying idolaters, and hanging up them that committed whoredom. The magistrate beareth not the sword in vain. Asa, the good King of Judah, gave commandment, that 'If any would not seek the Lord God of Israel he should die, from the least to the greatest, from the man to the woman.' Thus zealous magistrates have endeavoured to take rebellious foxes....." The third trap to take withal is confiscation of goods; which way is the easiest and not the worst, for most



men love mammon better than God, — their riches more than their religion. When the rich man heard that he and his wealth must part, he went away very sorrowful. If he from Christ, it is to be hoped these will from Antichrist; there can be no sharper punishment to a worldly-minded man than to be taken in this trap; God therefore commanded the Egyptians to be spoiled, than which there could be no plague more grievous unto them, being so greedily set upon their gain. .... It is no evil nor unlawful policy to weaken these enemies which are so ready to use the strength of their wealth to overthrow the church if occasion did serve. Touch them by the purse, it is the most ready way to take and tame these foxes.

“The last way set down by wise Artaxerxes is incarceration. When Joseph did cast his brethren into prison, then they remembered their fault and repented; then they thought, we suffer these things deservedly, for the hardness of our hearts against our brother. Manasses was never reclaimed until he was enclosed in prison; he was miserable in his kingdom, and blessed in his captivity. Thus it is the duty as well of the magistrate as of the minister to obey the commandment of the Almighty, and by all means to prevent wicked enterprises; to root out evil, and to seek the safety of God’s vineyard, his beloved church. Which, God grant them once effectually to do for their own discharge and benefit of the people so dearly redeemed by the blood of Christ. To whom,” &c.

VIII. The next illustrations shall be drawn from the Sermons of Bishop Jewel, and they are curious, as acknowledging absence of secular motive and fervour of piety in those to whom he was so strongly and conscientiously opposed, and whom he charged with wilful ignorance and resolute rejection of what they knew to be the truth.

“Alas! I speak not now of the ignorant and un-



learned sort of people, that offend of simplicity, and have a zeal for God, although it be not according to knowledge, but I speak of them that be learned, and know well that we teach you nothing this day but that Christ and his apostles taught before us, and was evermore frequented throughout the church until all things grew to corruption; and of the contrary part they do know, and their consciences do testify unto them, that their doctrine for the most part is contrary to the primitive church, contrary to the apostles, contrary to Christ himself. Yet will these men sooner leave their living than be present at the hearing of an English prayer, or communicate with the people under both kinds. They call it a schism to have the Common Prayer in a tongue the people can understand; to communicate under both kinds they call it a schism; for the ministers to be married they call it a schism; and other like things that it were tedious to rehearse at length.\*

A Romanist hearer might be tempted to exclaim, in words elsewhere used by this eloquent preacher and holy man, "O Christ! where is now thy new commandment? where is now thy badge, thy cognisance, whereby thy servants are known? where is that peace which thou leftest to thy disciples?" But the fact is that Jewel, when not under the immediate pressure of controversy, could sympathize with the aspirations of misguided piety, and do as much justice to the class of men in question as perhaps any one bishop on the bench would have ventured to render.

"There are to this day many to all appearance godly men, of good life, of righteous dealing, of great zeal and conscience, but yet have not eyes to see these things. I protest in their behalf, as did Paul: they have a great zeal for God's glory. Would God it were according to knowledge! We may say with the prophet, 'Oh Lord,

\* Sermon on Haggai, I. ii.



thy judgments are like a great deep ; who hath known the mind of the Lord ? or who is of his counsel ? God knoweth his time. He hath the key of David. He openeth and no man shutteth ; he is the father of lights ; we are in his hand, both we and all our counsels. God grant that we may put off all fleshly affections and put on Jesus Christ, and that all the earth may see his glory.”\*

To judge from the statements of the preachers, it would appear indeed that the papists were as moral and exemplary under Elizabeth, as the Protestants under Mary. Their good works, not their evil, are complained of. Their “ external righteousness” and “ moral virtues” formed “ a vizard that bleared many men’s eyes,”† and prevented them from receiving a truth which the lapse of three hundred years has not made popular—that the morality of a man who stands to his creed under persecution and oppression, whatever may be his errors, will probably be much above the average of theirs who swim with the tide and agree with the dominant faith be it false or true.

ix. It never occurred to the preachers of the day, however, fairly to separate between overt acts and inward thoughts, leaving the one to the civil authorities and the other to God. Attempting to “ bring men to the truth” by moral force alone, and “ compel them to abstain from holding openly doctrines contrary thereto,” by pains and penalties, the two were confounded. “ Appertain therefore to the see and bishop of Rome this care or no, to politick magistrates questionless it appertaineth, and therefore ought they, and much more may they, reform religion in their commonwealths according to their calling, that is, by external and outward discipline. Whereof seeing bodily pains and fear of the same is a part, by corporal punishment and severity of

\* Serm. on Rom. xiii. 12.

† Philips, p. 121.



laws may they attempt it. And this with judgment and upon very good advice was St. Augustine fully resolved upon, for that princes by power of the sword may *bring men to the truth*, and compel them to abstain from holding openly doctrines contrary thereto, he not slightly defendeth, and by the way, as it were, but even of set purpose." \*

Nothing can exceed the virulence with which it was customary to deal with these misled people, especially their clergy. In a sermon preached at court, by Drant, on the text, (Gen. ii.,) "They were both naked, the man and his wife Eve, and blushed not," he says, animadverting on the existing lenity towards papists,— "But it is well enough considered, I think, of those that have most cause to consider it, that nodding will not serve, nor beeking will not serve, nor checking will not serve, therefore it must be a club, or it must be a hatchet, or it must be an halter, or something it must be, or else of a surety some of these heads will never be quiet." Another preacher pursues the same subject thus. "I would to God they were cut off that disquiet you, cut off from your company, cut off from your congregation, cut off from the land, and not permitted by foolish pity or charity; yea, cut off utterly, and cursed everlastingly, before they should either by heresy corrupt you, or by violence and force banish the truth of Christ from among you: rather than either of these should fall out, I say it again with charity, object what they please: Oh, would to God they were cut off which do disquiet you." †

"The worst traitors to God and most rebels to the prince are those papists. Upon them, therefore, first and principally let her draw out the sword. It is the

\* Westphaling, Sermons. Fol. 22.

† Serm. at St. Peter's, Winchester, Sept. 25, 1586, by Edmund Hutchings.



office and duty of the magistrates to keep a diligent watch for these corner creepers, amongst the which none do more hurt than popish priests, which, dispersed in divers houses of the country, some of them are so impudent that they shame not to be seen with their Balaam, his mark, and other attire of papists; which priests, I do marvel why they are suffered to be in the house with papists, for there is no manner of likelihood in the world of [their] teaching any other but popery, unless any man be so fond as to think that two wolves being together the one will persuade the other from ravening. There is also another sort of popish night-owl, who, albeit they be neither shaven nor greased, yet do they as much harm as the others; and these are popish schoolmasters, who, under pretence of teaching gentlemen's children the Latin tongue, do secretly and privily nuzzle them in the principles of papistry, to the breeding of a further inconvenience if it be not wisely prevented in time. These corner creepers also must be diligently looked unto, which I humbly beseech those unto whose office it doth appertain, especially to provide that they may be."....."These jolly fellows have here also a lesson to learn of our Saviour Christ, namely to give over their pompous and riotous life, together with their idle living at home, and because they will needs be Christ's vicars, with Christ to go visit not only every city but also every town and village within their huge jurisdictions, teaching and preaching in every congregation, which if they would as painfully execute in trudging on foot from place to place as Christ did, it would drive forth some of their lazy grease, make their ruby faces to be somewhat more pale coloured, and their tun bellies to be of a little less scantling."\*

"If I hastened not to other matter, I might in this place discover the Romish clergy, and shew both how

\* Stockwood, on Matt. ix. 35.



the holy ordinance and institution of the ministry is by them profaned, and how miserably they have seduced the Lord his people, whenas all their priests are horrible idolaters, and in most of them is found neither ability nor will either to instruct and feed their flocks or to explain and open their own idolatrous service, or to make any reckoning of a right faith, and therefore I may justly wipe that greased generation out of the number of God his true ministers."\*

And here it may be observed that this was not a hasty nor a singular opinion. Although the church of England always allowed the Roman orders, numbers of our clergy publicly denied their validity, and regarded their admission as a disgrace which they shared.

x. Such a style of oratory was objectionable enough when the preacher stood at Paul's Cross and the papists were at liberty, but it became still more so when the preacher stood in the chapel of the Tower, and belaboured the fetter'd prisoners there; men who had at least sufficient evidence, from their very position, that they were sincere, to preserve their self-respect, and exasperate their hatred of everything protestant; Laud, when similarly situated, records a sermon he heard preached in that chapel by a soldier in a buff coat. The seminarists probably profited by their teacher as much as the primate by his while listening to some passages in a "Sermon of John Keltridge, preacher of the word of God in London, preached before the Jesuits in the Tower, 1581; in which were confuted to their faces the most principal and chief points of their Romish and whorish religion, and all such articles as they defend contrary to the word of God were laid open, and ripped up unto them." Thus he held forth:—

"Convince me, then, and condemn me. Is it because your religion cometh of sin? Then be ashamed; pro-

\* John Walsall, 1578.



fess God's word. Is it because all your trumpery proceedeth of the pope? Revolt, return, amend, and deny him; stay upon the Lord God. Is it because the inventors of your mass have been such as was also your service invented? Filthy, ungodly, wicked, devilish, evil-disposed, naughty persons, and idolaters? Why you may forsake them when you will. But is it because that I open you the truth, because I tell you of the sins of your fathers and your own? because I tell you of your manifold lyings, great untruths, slanderous reproaches, filthy demeanour, ungodly life, evil deeds, erroneous opinions, foolish ceremonies, devilish heresies, hypocritical devices, human institutions, popish decrees, and whorish fables, which you have brought in and would confirm in England? I exhort you then in the name of the Lord to eschew and abhor them all; you shall never be told of them any more; we will forget them. If not, then heaven and earth shall be witness that I have told you all your sins, and of all your abominations this day, and yet you cease not to persevere still in the same. You that be here, coming from the pope, how can you stand so boldly, and face it out so gazingly, and hear us so repiningly, and spurn so irksomely as you do, without horror of conscience? We cannot suffer you, we may not suffer you, to defend so horrible and erroneous constitutions as your forefathers, the wicked popes, invented. What sin was not committed by them? what abominations were not done by them? what stinking and slavish constitutions were not decreed by them?..... Wherefore as your popes have corrupted all things, so will we, and so ought we, to flee from them in all things." \*

Doubtless the preacher might have said with Dr. James, "How they grunt and groan at the preaching of the gospel!" †

\* P. 23.

† Serm. at Hamp. Court, 1578.



The same temperate and persuasive strain is continued in a second sermon to the same audience. "You! you walk according to the ways of them of Gomorrah! You! you trust in Pharaoh and in his mighty power; you repose on the pope's shoulders, and not on God; you are comforted in Herod; his pleasant notion and sweet style hath bewitched you. You! you are protected under the shadow of the great beast in the Revelation, to whom the most of the kings of the earth do fall down and give worship. You! you are angry with Cain; you! you are hardened as was Sehon; you! you are the sons of the fathers that have cast stones at the prophets; you! you are boldened with Zedechias; you! you are still, and you will be sacrificers still to the queen of heaven; you! you have practised and taken counsel against the Lord, against Christ, against his anointed; but Achitophel with you and you with him, you with Absalom, Absalom with you, shall be overthrown both alike, and have one end."\*

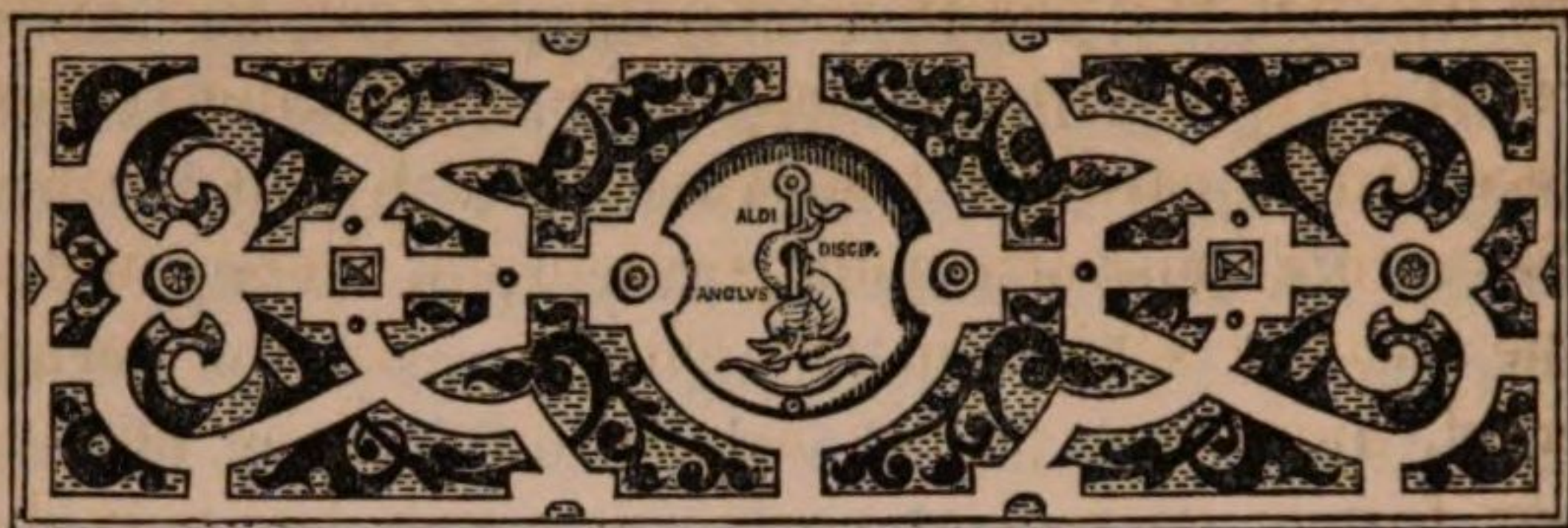
XI. Enough has been adduced illustrating a position well laid down by Anthony Anderson: "The duty of true conversion is *first* to cast out of the chair and church Baalim and Ashtaroth, and *then* to direct our hearts unto the Lord." A passage from Crowley's Sermon at the Election of the Lord Mayor, in 1574, with the hortatory clause of which the writer can for once entirely coincide, however extreme, is less irrational. "Of all sectaries the papist is most contrary to Christ. .... You, therefore, to whom it belongeth to give voices in this election, look well to the religion of him whom you choose, and if any be a papist, so hate him as God hated Esau and David's elder brethren, that you refuse him, and choose him not to rule you because he is not a brother." Such conduct Englishmen might have pursued without thinking, like Lati-

\* P. 60.



mer, that "all those that be massmongers, be deniers of Christ;" or with Drant, "that all those of the papistry have their consciences seared with that hot iron whereof St. Paul speaketh, 'they have corrupt adust consciences.' But such language was a too certain method to provide for the ultimate fulfilment of Top-sell's anticipation of a day when "our recusants, which are the offsprings of many bloody persecutors, shall have the blood of the Lord's Saints revenged upon them." Men he spoke to, lived to see it.





## CHAPTER X.

## THE ENGLISH SCHISMS.

IN parte vestis adhuc unum sumus, sed in diversa pendemus  
quid enim scissum est, ex parte divisum est non ex toto con-  
cisum.

*Optatus.*

## I.

IF political calamities cast before them a visible and appalling shadow, the bitterness and wrath of the Elizabethan pulpit was that projected from the great rebellion; if, on the other hand, this shadow is the soul which gives animation to yet inert matter, then was the doctrine of the preachers in question that soul, and the great rebellion the body to which it imparted life. For the first years of Elizabeth, perhaps the blame was too evenly divided between parties to fall with overwhelming weight on either, but when the generation of the oppressed and the oppressors had lain down side by side in the common churchyards, their children were without excuse in accepting as an inheritance the enmities of their fathers.

The first decided step towards this lamentable issue was the formal separation of various sectarian bodies from the national church; while England, intoxicated with party violence, reeled from one extreme of religious opinion to another, under the guidance of a primate



who had not the power to stay his companions' steps, even if he ever saw that they were approaching a precipice, and a cardinal who was drawn by his Spanish allies into a most atrocious persecution, there could be little avowed schism in the church. In the former period, numerous priests and congregations pursued their former courses as nearly as might be, only disturbed, perhaps, for a day by some preacher or visitor; and so, in Mary's time, many who did not think the differences between protestant and papist worth a schism, continued to preach as before, while tamely complying with the orders received from authority.

II. It pleased divine Providence that beside the zealous persons who *sought* martyrdom, many were driven to a point beyond which their consciences would not allow them to comply, and perished at the stake rather than assent to an unauthenticated dogma of the Romish church. While the government was pursuing such a course as this, no doubt many who had lost, in their contemplation of enormous abuses, that strong love of church unity which should characterize every Christian, would consider themselves at perfect liberty to accept the ministrations of preachers whose opinions harmonized with their own. Much had been done in the reign of Edward to pave the way for schismatical worship under the sanction of those whose right to guide the opinions of their contemporaries could not be disputed. Cranmer had compelled Smith, the Regius professor of divinity at Oxford, to recant as errors many of his opinions previously published: among others, the following declaration then made at Paul's Cross, appears subversive of all ecclesiastical authority whatsoever, except such as the state exercised: "Where I said concerning the same matter, that as subjects be bound to obey and fulfil their prince's laws which are not contained in God's laws, being not against it, even



so be Christian people bound to obey and do that which their bishops biddeth them do; all these sayings I do now revoke, disannul and condemn as erroneous and false, and do profess and acknowledge, first, that the authority as well of the bishop of Rome, whose authority is justly and lawfully abolished in this realm, as of other bishops and other called ministers of the church, consisteth in the dispensation and ministration of God's word, and not in making laws or divorces and decrees over the people, beside God's word, without the consent and authority of the prince and people.....And if they do make any such, no man is bound to obey them."\*

In perfect conformity with these views, a congregation—nay, a regularly organized conventicle—of foreigners, had been encouraged to settle in England, established in a city church, and aided with pecuniary supplies. The Bishop of Gloucester, a close friend of a Lasco, the superintendent, sympathized more with it than the church of which he was a reluctant prelate, and many English sought shelter in their nonconformity by gaining, under various pretexts, admission among the strangers. This party received accessions from Hooper's "unseasonable and too bitter sermons," as his friend described them, in which he taught doctrines of which hatred to ecclesiastical vestments may be fairly considered as the symbol; that the constitution of a church depended entirely on the purity of its doctrine; and when any one supposes this purity lost, he has no need to wait for any ordinary authority before taking the responsibility of the priesthood upon himself. Such, at least, seems a fair inference from passages like the following, in Hooper's sermons on Jonah. "Ordinarily, where there is no corruption of the ministry in the church, neither in doctrine nor in the

\* Godly and faithful Retractation, Sign. A, 1547.



right ministration of the sacraments, which are as seals and conclusions of God's holy word; where this integrity, I say, remains in the church, no man ought, without the appointment of the higher powers, to intrude or appoint himself to preach or minister, even as it was in Moses' time and the apostles."\* But as an integrity of this kind, according to Hooper's acceptation of the term, has never existed from the apostolic age, the alternative was obvious. Persons every where assumed the office of teachers, and some of the authorities certainly would be very slow to interfere with them. "These men did appoint mere laymen to minister; yea, and lay women sometimes it is said."† And when it was seen how easily a church could generate itself, such an event as the restoration of popery would be sure to suggest the experiment. Accordingly, a separation took place in London of about two hundred persons, led by a succession of pastors—

"Each stepping where his comrade stood,  
The instant that he fell;"

and cold must be the heart which does not glow at the recital of their trials. Five teachers superintended the London society during this melancholy period—Scambler, Fowler, Rough, Bernher, and Bentham, successively assembled them in private houses, inns, alleys, lofts, and sometimes on shipboard, and accompanied to the stake such as suffered during their presidency. Rough, returning from the martyrdom of Austoo, was met by a merchant, who inquired where he had been. "I have been," said he, "where I would not for one of mine eyes but I had been. I have been, forsooth, to learn the way." He trod it soon, and was succeeded by Latimer's faithful servant, Augustine Bernher, after whom, Bentham, who returned from his retreat on the

\* 1st Sermon.

† Watson's two notable sermons. 2nd Serm. 1554.



continent for the purpose, assumed his perilous office. He, when the last seven were burned in Smithfield, and all were forbidden to pray for them, went up to the just kindled pyre, and exclaimed, "We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot choose but wish well for them, and say, God strengthen them. Almighty God, for Christ's sake strengthen them." He preached many longer sermons; never one more striking: the whole multitude cried, Amen. But whatever became of the principles of the reformation, the feeling for it was thus fostered into depth and vigour. "The blood of the Christians," says Latimer, himself one of those who lighted in England the candle that could never be put out—"the blood of the Christians is as it were the seed of the fruit of the Gospel; for when one is hanged here, and another yonder, then God goeth sowing of his seed: for like as the corn that is cast into the ground riseth up again and is multiplied, even so the blood of those which suffer for God's holy word's sake stirreth up a great many, and happy is he to whom it is given to suffer for God's holy word's sake."\*

III. The moderation of Elizabeth, while it satisfied none, kept all in sufficient suspense to prevent them from rushing at once into separation. The fewness of those who thought that she had kept the golden mean, encouraged each to hope for ultimate ascendancy; and after a struggle for popery by the bishops, and a struggle against every thing they could imagine to be a relic of it by the returned exiles, all seemed fast settling down into unity and peace. The Romanists came orderly to church, and found nothing needlessly offensive where the laws were obeyed; nothing which the learned of their own clergy could pronounce heretical, and prove it. The puritan, too, though little pleased with con-

\* 3rd Serm. on Lord's Prayer.



cessions which enabled such to kneel beside him in the house of God, still owned the catholicity of the church he would gladly have improved. Thus both agreed with the same, and so with each other.

IV. The first schism of the reformed church was perpetrated by the Precisians. Symptoms of it had appeared in 1565 ; in 1567 a conventicle was discovered in Plummer's Hall, and the congregation apprehended. Cartwright, the Margaret Divinity Professor at Cambridge, began to inculcate his views in 1570, and soon organized his followers into a sect, which met with so much sympathy from at least two-thirds of the best preachers, that its insolence and rapid propagation are by no means surprising: "It is not," says Buckley, preaching at Paul's Cross in 1571, "a cap, tippet, or surplice only, which are but small matters, and the smallest of many matters which are to be reformed in the church of England ; and yet my meaning is not that small account should be made of these things, for hereof I am well assured, that how small soever they seem, they do no small hurt in the church of God ; for to clog men's consciences, to hinder the course of the gospel, to breed contentions among brethren, is no small hurt." And then he proceeds to harp upon Jewel's simile, "the grain of the grape that killed Anacreon," and advance the theory which has been echoed by dissent from his day to ours. "When God at the first did restore unto us the comfort of his gospel, then was it a convenient time to have made a right reformation of religion, but our eye was not then single nor our doings simple. Then we drew not out of the book of God a right plat, neither laid we a sure foundation of right reformation ; we did not then utterly abolish all superstitious vanities, which now, by God's judgment, are pricks in our eyes and thorns in our sides." Six years afterwards a clergyman in the same pulpit ob-



served, "I fear me we have yielded too much unto them in retaining divers ceremonies to turn them [the papists], and it will not be, for they are not the better, but the worse; and as it hath done them no good, so it is to be feared that it hath done many of us harm, and they are obstinate still, you should not have so many go to mass else as they do, and mass being so dear too." \*

v. The answer to this is, that the wise and moderate concessions of the government were never fairly tried. Men who found the actions of devotion to which long use had familiarized them, almost necessary to its exercise, were treated with outrageous contumely; and adiaphorists, who could detect the element of truth indicated by sub-contrary doctrinal statements of contending parties, were universally held worthy of the Laodicean curse. "How many poisoned protestants and maimed professors have we (I mean for opinion, for otherwise who is whole and sound?) You shall have a gospeller, as he will be taken, a jolly fellow, to retain and maintain such patches of popery and infection of Rome, that methinks I see the serpent's subtlety as plain as by the claw you may judge the lion; one holdeth faith justifieth, and yet works do no harm; another saith prayer for the dead is charity, and though it do no good, yet it doth no hurt; what will you have me say, the devil go with them? Another verily believes that infants unbaptized and dead cannot but be damned; another crosses me his face, and nose, and breast with thumbs and fingers, and cannot pray but towards the east ..... but I cannot stand on these points. Take heed to yourselves, and so to your souls; a little leaven sours the whole lump; the least dram in the world, or dreg of man's device, perverts the purity of religion, and utterly poisoneth your profession." †

The fascinating dream of a church on earth, where

\* T. White, Sermon at Paul's Cross, 1577.

† Ibid.



intercourse between God and the soul should need no aid from without, and human imperfection should leave no trace on the frame-work of public worship, or the republican fancy of universal equality in things pertaining unto God, had taken possession of great numbers of zealous men, and kept their hearts like a strong man armed. Playfere was a thorough trifler, but he describes this state of mind too justly as exhibited in his generation. "David could wish his utter enemy no greater harm than that Satan might stand at his right hand. Satan stands at a man's left hand when he draweth him by the arm into the old way of atheism; at a man's right hand when he pulleth him by the elbow into the new found way of puritanism. For so blessed Cranmer says, some lose their game by short-shooting, some by over-shooting; some walk too much on the left hand, some too much on the right hand. The first which shoot short and walk too much on the left hand are atheists; these latter which overshoot themselves and walk too much on the right hand are humorists. Of both which St. Austin writes thus:— 'We must in any case beware and take heed,' says he, 'of the mischievous infection, not only of tares, which are atheists, but also of those branches that have cut themselves off from the Lord's vine, which are humorists. For as Atalanta, ranging out on the right hand to gather up those golden apples which Hippomanes for the nonce threw forth before her, did lose the wager she ran for, no otherwise they which are not thankful to God for the glorious peace and prosperity of his church, but run after every strange-devised discipline, and take up all pretty novelties, as golden apples, which every man lets fall, shall without question miss the mark, and lose the garland of glory.'" \*

VI. It might be a too bold assertion that the perse-

\* Serm. at St. Mary's Spittle, 1573.



cution of papists in Elizabeth's reign was the chief ingredient in that policy which made sectarianism the formidable enemy which it has proved itself in many a juncture to the church of England. Yet there are some grounds for believing it. White's assertion that the papists had not benefited by the moderation of the government was not true. In the early years of Elizabeth, clergy and laity conformed to the changes in the ritual. Of nine thousand four hundred of the old incumbents, all but two hundred kept their livings, and probably the greater number held no opinions which presented any insurmountable barrier to a permanent coalition. According to Sanders' own account there remained but thirty priests in England who refused conformity. Thus there was some foundation for such assertions concerning popery in England as were made by Dr. Fulke in a sermon at Hampton Court in 1570: \* "Her credit is cracked not only amongst her enemies, the protestants, but even among her best friends and greatest arch-papists; for I suppose there is none in the world so blind, so superstitious, so devoutly addict in all points to popery as they were thirty or forty years past. Although they close their eyes never so obstinately against the light of God's word, yet some effect of the beams of force will pierce even through their lids, and that they themselves cannot dissemble. Their pardons, their pilgrimages, their legends, who is now so blind that seeth not how the world hath been seduced by these? ..... One that landed lately at Yarmouth (a seminary priest) before witnesses of good credit testified that if he might be satisfied on two points, concerning the other he would not greatly strive—the pope's supremacy and the real presence."

VII. Such an anecdote would to some extent justify

\* Dr. Hutton takes much the same view of English Romanism in his sermon at York, 1579.



a rather ungenerous remark of the same preacher three years later at Aldersgate:—"He that made Adam to lose paradise, he maketh many forsake their native country—him for an apple, them for less than the paring." The bull of Pius, indeed, put an end to much of the compliance above described in those who had not determined to go all lengths with the reformation, and who, justly alive to the guilt of schism, conceived, nevertheless, that they might feel due respect for the primate of the western church without deserting those fanes in which they had been baptized, and where they had knelt from infancy. This bull, however, might have produced little effect, but for two co-operating causes. The irritating language continually vented against papists created something of that dangerous spirit of martyrdom which embosses the shield of passive resistance; and the foreign seminaries were bringing into operation an aggressive system, in which fanatical blindness was blended with the most generous self-devotion. To the missionaries from these establishments, the best perhaps, certainly the most mischievous, papists of their age, must be traced the formation of the Romish schism in England. "I wis, I wis," said Dr. Overton, in a sermon at the East Grinstead assizes, "there are many cursed calves of Basan abroad, which, since they sucked the bull that came from Rome,\* have given over all obedience and allegiance both to God and the queen; for before that time they could be content to come to the church and hear sermons, and to receive the sacraments, and to use the common prayer with the rest of the congregation of Christ, and so forth. They were conformable in all

\* This wretched pun was very fashionable in writings of this period. The following is the title of a book: "A disclosure of the great bull and certain calves that he hath gotten; and especially the monster bull that roared at my Lord Bishop's Gate. 8vo, Norton."



respects, and content to do anything that beseemed good Christians to do ; but since they sucked that mad bull, they are become even as brainsick calves, froward, stubborn, disobedient, in word and deed, not to be led nor ordered by any reason ; and I would it were no worse. And yet these, forsooth, cannot be seen nor heard of when time of reformation is. They cannot be heard of at the quarter sessions, nor now at these general sessions, nor when any commission is sit upon for the redress of such matters. They cannot be espied or heard of at any such time. But when the sessions are passed, we can both hear and see that they have their open meetings and solemn feastings together, sometimes at one house, sometimes at another house, amongst themselves, with all freedom and liberty, and lustiness, talking and jesting at their pleasure of the state of religion, and so forth, whatsoever they list ; to no good end, I warrant you, not without unhappy meaning, as of late you have had some experience of it westward. I pray God ere it be long we have not like experience here eastward, and all through our own slackness and negligence in looking to these matters.” \*

“ If you make diligent search,” says Dyos, “ you shall find fat bulls of Basan of this company in cathedral churches—dumb dogs, and hinderers, as far as they dare, of the gospel of Christ Jesu ..... All these men think that they can walk unespied, as though they had Gyges’ ring upon them to go invisible by.” † Thus for some time popery survived in the Anglican church much as Wesleyanism appeared in the early career of Wesley. But a few of the most violent Romanists refused to join in public worship, and no very searching inquiries were made after ordinary recusants. “ Our prince,” says Drant, in 1569, “ hath yet but

\* A godly and pithy exhortation made to the judges and justices of Sussex, &c.

† Sermon at Paul’s Cross, 1579.



strucken one string, and played upon mercy. But if she would now strike upon both the strings, and let her song be of mercy and judgment, then there would be a goodly music in her regiment, and all things would be in a much better tune than they now are." \* Not many years passed by before the government was provoked into listening to such counsels ; for although the parents continued in many instances compliant, their children were so far influenced by the instructions of seminary priests, as to grow up in sturdy recusancy. " You have at this day," says Stockwood, " in this land many young gentlemen not above twenty-four years old, at the most, that are more obstinate and stubborn papists than their fathers. They will come at no church, at no sermons, whereas their parents will do both." †

VIII. Painful indeed is the remaining history. A bloody act was passed against the Romish seminary priests and their adherents, and bloodily it was executed ; ‡ while a mean, yet stinging, revenge was taken by the proscribed parties, preaching schism in the shape of puritanism and anabaptistry, endeavouring (and at last they succeeded) to break up the English church ; and since they could no longer make a tool of it, to poison and destroy. It may be added, that the union of papists and other dissenters, bound together in unnatural friendship, by hatred and by danger the two hands that closest grasp each other, (a union which the church of England has seen formed again after the lapse of ages,) was visible, notwithstanding all this overflow of indignation, in the sixteenth century. " It is lamentable to see the miserable mingle mangle of them and other sects, as it were, incorporated together, and linked in good fellowship, in this city, yea, in marriage, too ; for as for company keeping, familiarity, and

\* Sermon at Windsor. † Sermon at Paul's Cross, 1578.

‡ The first blood was shed at Launceston in 1577.



affinity, no man thinks anything of it; yet God's cause goes to the ground by it, and such courtesy hath devoured English Christianity. Wherefore, if God be God, Baal cannot be God, for there is but one God. If our gospel be the true religion, then popery is flat superstition, for there is but one truth; if anabaptists have smelled of the smoke, and been burnt as heretics, why shall these, being in a worse cause, be in a better condition? But that Troy's destiny was to pull in their own enemies, and Israel's folly not to kill the Canaanites, wherefore they that remained were pricks and thorns to their eyes for it, and these we retain will be knives to our throats, I fear me, for they are obstinate persons." \*

x. "But now there be other sects besides these which do very much trouble and disturb the church and civil state, as anabaptists, libertines, and such other like, which would have no commonwealth at all, but yet all things common, which would have no rule nor magistrate amongst the people, but yet would rule and reign above magistrates; which would have no laws, but yet would do what wrong they list, contrary to the law; of which sort are those that stick not to teach out of open pulpits, and to bear men fondly in hand that it cannot be found within the two clasps of the Bible that Christian men may go to law, or sue one another. And what else is this, I pray you, but to overturn all policy and governments, and to have no commonwealth at all? for if we may not use the laws, we must have no laws. If no laws, then no magistrates; if no magistrates, then no obedience; if no obedience, then no order; if no order, then (as I said) no commonwealth at all; but every man may live after his own common will, as he list himself, and as his own spirit shall move him, which is the stinking opinion, and very sink in-

\* T. White, Serm. at Paul's Cross.



deed of all anabaptistry. Such men, therefore, must be looked upon ; and I am afraid lest the puritans also (as you call them), another sect lately sprung amongst us, do smell shrewdly of this ill-favoured smoke, of whom and of others I thought to have spoken more.”\*

Of course such men were only fit to be burnt alive, and so far from entertaining any doubt of it were the preachers, that they refer to such executions complacently in their sermons. Latimer repeatedly alludes to Joan of Kent and her heresies,† at whose burning, Dr. Scory preached ; but forty years afterwards, Bancroft spoke as coolly “ of the late obstinate heretic Francis Ket, who was within these two months burnt at Norwich. All the places in the Prophets which did describe the spiritual kingdom of Christ, he applied to the material restoration of the earthly Jerusalem, affirming that as many as would be saved, must go and dwell there in the land of Canaan. Another of this sort, whose book I have, written with his own hand, endeavoureth to prove out of the Prophets that Elizabeth, now Queen of England, is ordained of God to be Queen of Jerusalem, even as the anabaptists long since dreamed of John Bocaldus.”‡

XI. “ About this time,” says Strype, referring to A. D. 1575, “ or somewhat before, a sect that went by the name of the Family of Love, began to be taken notice of.” Perhaps the industrious annalist might have carried back his reference several years without incorrectness, since, in 1571, Henry Nicholas, their founder, had disciples enough in England to make a translation of his works into English worth publishing. This sect acquired a very bad name, partly perhaps by the worthlessness of those who adopted it as a cloak for gross licentiousness ; partly from the conduct of disciples,

\* Overton’s Assize Serm.

† Serm. on St. John’s day.

‡ Serm. at P. C. 1588.



who variously modified the heresiarch's doctrine. Such were the Essentialists, followers of one Mrs. Dunbar, a Scotch woman, and the Family of the Mount, whose founder was a clergyman, named Etchard, minister of Darsham, in Suffolk. The sectarians complained of being misrepresented and slandered by the preachers of the day, but some of them seem to have laid themselves very open to such crimination as follows: "As for the erroneous heretics, not to speak of all, let us add somewhat of the most pestilent Family of Love. ....In speaking of the birth, death, and resurrection of Christ, these men, as fools flying one extremity run post haste unto the contrary extremity; and therefore these wretches, imagining to themselves a spiritual Christ, are as much to be maliced as the papists are to be pitied. For, after popery, yet some cause was given of rejoicing, in that the truth of history was left unto us; but these fellows, under a colour of not being ceremonial, but altogether desiring to be spiritual, take away all from us, and yet most deceitfully will seem to grant all. If ye demand anything of Christ—his birth; they will grant it. If ye ask whether he was born of the seed of David, and of the Virgin Mary, they will confess it; but as understanding it after this allegory, for that Mary, as they say, signifieth doctrine; David the beloved service: so that this is their judgment of Christ, his birth, that he was born of the doctrine of the service of love. In like manner they will grant the resurrection of Christ, his death, and his burial, but in this sense—that Christ suffereth in our suffocated nature, and is crucified when sin dieth in us, and when they suffer for the doctrine of love; and that after they have suffered, and begun to be illuminated, then Christ riseth again in them; and lastly, when the light of nature getteth some clearer light of judgment, then Christ is ready to come to judg-



ment. Thus, a number having refused the Antichristian pope, are fallen into the hands of Antichristian atheists, and having eschewed the dregs of popery, have wallowed most filthily in the mire of heresy.\*

It is easy to see how such principles might be made to suit the emergencies of persecution. A modern infidel, alluding to Galileo's denial of his discoveries and the theory he had raised upon them, observes that he was right, for the truths of science need no hecatombs; the family seem to have extended this principle to the truths of revelation. They maintained, "That men need not openly be of any religion whereby they may endanger themselves. That it is good Christendom to lie, swear, and forswear, to say and unsay to any, saving such as be of the same family, with whom they must use all plainness, and keep their mysteries secret from all others to themselves. These men may do anything to avoid affliction, and they have scripture for that purpose: 'Your bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost; you may not suffer God's temples to be touched.'"<sup>†</sup> At all events they got enough abuse to ensure their prosperity as a sect.

"Touching the family of love, I say this, the devil transformeth himself into an angel of light, therefore it is no great marvel that this family, being indeed a family of Satan, should transform themselves into a family of light, a family of love; God is light, God is love. Chrysostom saith, 'Heretici omnia habent in similitudine'—heretics have all things in resemblance or likeness. This family is not a family of true love. It is a family of blasphemy, a family of falsehood, a family of pride, a family of idolatry, a family of ignorance and folly, a family of malice, and, to be short, a family of all vice and villany; for proof I refer you to the books, or rather Babels, of H. N., whom they name the true

\* Greenham, 16th Sermon.

† Sandys' Sermon, p. 130.



prophet of God, whereas he is a false and lying prophet." \* Deacon calls them "that filthy family of fleshly love, who dreaming over deeply of a deified nature, do imagine themselves so perfectly freed from every contagion of sin, as that all their actions, whatsoever they be, are thoroughly directed and sanctified by the Spirit of God," † but the most singular thing is, the remark of another preacher, that they multiplied "especially in those cities and towns, populous where the word of God is most diligently preached." ‡

XII. To return to the Holy discipline. Cartwright had now organized his followers to a considerable extent, and by sending candidates abroad for ordination, then foisting them into the English churches, he had contrived to set up a very powerful imperium in imperio, and succeeded in making it work at once independently of and collaterally with the church. Still inevitable circumstances were so often bringing the church and them into collision, that statesmen felt the necessity or found the convenience of siding with one part, or endeavouring to reconcile both. Accordingly while Walsingham tried to prevail on Whitgift to wink at their irregularities, Lord Burleigh endeavoured to obtain from them in some definite form what they required as the price of compliance. If they objected to the Prayer-book, to what would they agree? The result shall be given from Bancroft's sermon, a discourse which throws much light upon the schismatic proceedings of the age.

"But very well: seeing they are so greatly offended with this book, what is it they desire themselves? Forsooth, a book they would be contented to have, but it must be of their own making. I beseech you mark and observe their course taken to this purpose. About

\* Dyos at Paul's Cross, 1579. † Serm. by John Deacon, 1586.

‡ Samuel Cottesford, 1591.



four years since, some two or three private men in a corner framed a book of the form of Common Prayer, Administration of the Sacraments, &c.; and without any authority, published the same as meet to be embraced and used in all the parish churches in England..... The book they told us was a very perfect book, agreeable to God's word and the use of the reformed churches, and in the end thereof a provision is made in these words, 'Provided that nothing be done contrary to any order set down in this book.' The posy which they have chosen to set in the forefront of their book, thereby insinuating the excellency of it is this: 'No man can lay any other foundation than that which is laid even Christ Jesus.'

"In this book they seem to set down a brief sum of Christianity, and the very absolute form of ecclesiastical government, which they say Christ hath prescribed only to be received with the godly in the church. And here you shall see, my brethren, a very strange and wonderful stratagem; for would you think that in a book of this nature, describing so perfect a platform of church government, the civil magistrate should be quite forgotten?.....But I will proceed with the history of the book. The next year, another book of Common Prayer, &c. with the like authority and commendation that the other had, was cast abroad, or as you may call it the same book if you list; so you understand what violence and torments in so tender an age it hath sustained. The whole form and order of it was in a manner changed (they are so constant), and in other places and points of matter there are not so few as six hundred alterations. The wise man, speaking of such resolution, saith, that *Stultus ut luna mutatur*.

"In the last page of this book, for manners sake as it seemeth, they have remembered the civil magistrate, but that in so cold and sparing a sort as in my opinion



there is not a priest in Wisbich who will refuse (the circumstances being considered) to subscribe unto it.

“But to go forward. Within another year a third book is begotten and brought forth differing in some points from both the others, and they have been very earnest that this should be allowed of by public authority. Howbeit if you think their meaning to be as they seem to pretend, you are wholly deceived..... You shall find it a general rule in the rubrics that the minister shall either pray as there it is set down, or else as the Spirit of God shall move his heart to that effect, framing himself according to the time and occasion. So you see yourselves, in this point, left to the minister’s discretion.” \*

One more attempt was made at conciliation. Walsingham appears to have offered the puritans in the queen’s name, that the three shocking ceremonies, kneeling at communion, the surplice, and the cross in baptism, should be expunged from the ritual if they would be compliant in other respects. They replied: “There shall not an hoof be left behind.”

XIII. But while these transactions were in progress, the most complete and consistent form which schism had yet assumed in England was matured at Norwich, the most distracted diocese in the country, under the auspices of Robert Brown. In this undertaking he was preceded by Bolton, aided by Harrison, and followed by Barrow and Johnson, but the glory of it was for many years attributed to himself. Brown was a man of family, and often found friends to shelter him from the law, besides like Bolton and Johnson he made concessions at various times, and at last held a living in Northamptonshire. He ended his turbulent life in Northampton gaol, on a charge of assault, “having had,” says Fuller, “a wife with whom he never lived,

\* Bancroft, Sermon. 1588.



and a church in which he never preached." Barrow, less fortunate, was hanged at Tyburn; he also gave the sect a temporary name.

The great difference between the Brownists and the elder puritans seems to have been that Brown was a schismatic in intention, Cartwright was not. Cartwright wished to see the church brought to what he considered a higher degree of perfection, but would probably have agreed at first to some such scheme as that proposed in the next century by Archbishop Usher; Brown regarded the church as a synagogue of Satan, and his followers "through a swelling pride of their own conceits (which as it is commonly noticed hath cast them into a kind of frenzy) are not afraid to lay this slander upon the church and upon her most excellent Majesty, that since her Highness's reign there hath not been in England any book of public prayers and order for the ministration of sacraments, or any open form for the outward profession of our religion."\* The disciplinarians, on the other hand, treated Dr. Copcote's sermon at Paul's Cross,† in which he charged them with saying "That the church of England was no church but after a sort," as a slander, and replied, "We hold the church for a true church of Christ, from which no man may separate himself." Indeed there was theoretically no greater difference between Presbyterian classes and synods, and the established church, than between the former and a Brownist congregation, in which every member might on occasion change places with every other member, and clergy and laity were indefinite distinctions. Even Burton of Norwich, a thorough Cartwrightian, did not hesitate to censure "the sin of the Brownists in leaving a true church such as that of England;" and though he would not at all times read the whole church service, was far from that

\* Bancroft, 1588.

† 1584.



impiety which denounced even the Lord's prayer as nought in use though good in matter, and referred to prayers generally in terms such as Brown used but such as would sully the page in which they were quoted, not less by their vulgarity than their profaneness.

xiv. Whatever was the reason, the Brownists received gentler treatment in the pulpits of their brethren than the apparent discrepancy of their sentiments might have made probable. Nay, they were spoken of with a pity akin to love, in many contemporary sermons. "We must beware of their hasty zeal," says Greenham, "who will not stick to charge the children of God to be without zeal if presently and abruptly they rush not into open reprehension of men that are mighty in authority, as though no regard of place, time, and persons were to be had; which opinion many, by weakness of judgment, defending, find neither fruit in others, nor comfort in their own consciences, when they do admonish in that presumptuous manner." \*

"It is the manner of some to turn with the spider's breath the sweet juice of flowers into poison; to seek knots in rushes where all things are plain and smooth, to stumble at every straw that stoppeth the course of their eager spirit; to break the bonds of peace, and so to single and sever themselves by themselves. Well, we are here told it is no new or strange thing; it is the manner of some; it hath been, it will be, and therefore we are not greatly moved therewith. It is the manner of some, and therefore being thus armed and forewarned thereof, we may the better avoid and withstand the like proceedings." †

xv. This is tame enough, but the views of episcopacy, as set forth by the preachers, were generally so low and obscure that it is not easy to see upon what single circumstance any man could make out the charge

\* 3rd Sermon.

† Hudson at Paul's Cross, 1584.



of schism against another who devised his own religion without reference to any existing church. If the Elizabethan bishops were scorned and rebelled against by their clergy, they had often no one to blame for it but themselves; if their flocks wandered from their folds, too many of them had laid aside the pastoral staff which should bring them back, and not claiming fearlessly their apostolic succession, nay, sometimes regarding it as a thing they blushed to own, no wonder that the power they wished to exercise was treated as usurpation. At an ordination at Manchester, in 1582, Bishop Downham appointed one Simon Hayward to preach to the candidates. In this discourse he assured them that "the privileges and superiorities which bishops have above other ministers are rather granted by men for maintaining better order and quietness in commonwealths than challenged by the office of their ministry." And he proceeds to defend the consecration of the first Elizabethan bishops, although "they had no imposition of hands, but only of popish priests, which are no true seignory;" "that although many bishops in England, Scotland, and Denmark, had succeeded popish priests, it was but in succession of the chair and place, for in doctrine they only succeeded Jesus Christ." And as we are forced to allow the baptism of Romanists, so must we allow their imposition of hands, and admit that the first Anglican bishops "had, after a sort, an ordinary vocation—as they call vocation."

It was time for some reaction to take place which should produce a set of men who, distinguishing things that differ, and emancipated from the hero worship of the Reformers, should revive right views of the unity, while maintaining the purity of the church. Traces are not wanting of the gradual formation of such a party—the necessary sequel to an age of spiritual licence, by whom "those reverend Fathers of the church



which have brought us out of Babylon ..... have been abused." \* The following extract is taken from a sermon on Jude by William Perkins. It was one of a course of three score and six, preached at Cambridge, near the close of the sixteenth century. The same sentiments have probably been heard in the pulpits of both universities more recently :—

“It were to be wished that some of our students, even of divinity, had not a spice of this sin of Corah ; for within this six or seven years divers have addicted themselves to study popish writers and monkish discourses, despising, in the meantime, the writings of those famous instruments and clear lights whom the Lord raised up for the raising and restoring of true religion, such as Luther, Calvin, Bucer, Beza, Martyr, &c. ; which argueth that their minds are alienated from the sincerity of the truth, because the writings of these (soundest expositors of the Scriptures, raised since the apostles) are not savoury unto them ; yea, some can revile these worthy lights themselves, which is a spice of Corah his sin.” †

xvi. Among these however was one whose name has died away from the lips of posterity, but whose voice was raised in behalf of Catholic truth, when many treated it with scorn. Peter Baro, a learned Frenchman, Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, was understood to assail the popular dogmas of predestination, and although this was done most temperately, it was the “ Harriehardhartian” ‡ heresy of “ idle wits ;” to crush it the Lambeth articles were drawn up ; and had they not been strangled in their birth by the prerogative, they might still have been appealed to as the voice of the Anglican church. But Baro was not the man to lead a schism. He allowed himself although

\* Topsell, p. 19.

† Perkins, vol. 3, p. 553.

‡ B. Traheron's 3rd reading, 1558.



unconvicted of offence, to be teased out of his professorship, and retiring lived in the peace he so well described.

“ This oil therefore runneth down from Christ the head, first to the beard, that is to say to the prophets, apostles, pastors, teachers, then also to the whole body; so as there is no part or member thereof, which is not watered and moistened with it. For it goeth down even to the very border of his garment. For why? he endueth us with his holy Spirit, to the end that being made one with him we might be partakers of all his benefits, and especially of his righteousness, which he bestoweth on us in pardoning and forgiving all our sins, that being freed and delivered from Satan, the world, and the lusts of the flesh, we might serve him purely and sincerely all the days of our life. And from hence does spring that peace and concord which is intreated of in this place, for why, if we be so engrafted into the body of Christ that we are his members, how should we disagree among ourselves? how should there be broils, hatreds, and contentions amongst us? And if there be any that are delighted with wars, brawlings and disagreements (as doubtless there are over many such in these our days), then sith it manifestly appeareth that they do contemn this most precious ointment, nay, they tread Christ himself and his blood wherewith they were washed under their feet, we ought in no wise to follow their example: but among us there ought to be one mind, one will, and one consent, because we are all sprinkled with one ointment and members of one Christ. Which if we do, there will flow so sweet a smell out of this concord and agreement of ours, and so gracious a savour both to God and men, and so pleasant to all good people, and to ourselves especially so wholesome and good, that we shall find it to be true by experience that concord embraced and retained among brethren is like unto that most precious ointment wherewith the high priest was perfumed, so as we may justly cry out



with David, 'How pleasant a thing it is for Christians to hold and entertain peace among themselves.' " \*

XVII. These extracts have run to a considerable length, and yet have but imperfectly exhibited the process by which the Church of England was debased almost as soon as she was revived by the Reformation, and paid dearly, though not too dearly, for the truths recovered and the errors put away. Perhaps, however, they throw some light on the steps by which inroads were made on her constitution. First, Precisians, imagining every caprice of their own essential to the purity of the gospel, neither spared the feelings nor heeded the consciences of their brethren, who relinquished reluctantly any figment of the faith in which they had been brought up; then these same papists, or at least, their children, (their daughters, more numerous than their sons,) gradually ceased to attend their parish churches, where, notwithstanding the precautions of Archbishop Parker and the government, nothing was omitted which could irritate and insult them. The extreme Puritans having thus expelled them from the temples of their fathers, the same restlessness prevented their remaining themselves, and, too late, they went off in various forms of separation. Then moderate and learned men took alarm; was there no mean, they inquired; was everything touched by popery defiled? and a study of popish books and the position the students would be forced into by having to defend their own views of catholic unity, would both bias their minds and affect their moderation towards others. Such was the party of Laud and his adherents; a party not generated by the influence of one, but the result of a course of enlarged study upon many. The ignorant thought them papists in disguise, and the wicked said so, until popular fury seized their primate as a victim, and added another martyr to the noble army in heaven.

\* Baro's 1st Sermon.





## CHAPTER XI.

## SUPERSTITIONS OF THE REFORMATION.

“And it shall come to pass in that day that the light shall not be clear nor dark.” Zech. xiv. 6.

## I.

IN speaking of the superstitions of any period, it is scarcely fair to state them as though they were peculiar to it. The delusions which a man inherits as his birthright from his father, and which he no more thinks of examining than the title-deeds of an estate which his family has held from time immemorial, dwell among his convictions like axioms, and seldom interfere with the exertions of even a vigorous intellect. This should be borne in mind when any absurdities occurring between the commencement of the Reformation and the demise of Elizabeth provoke a smile; for there is little in any form of misbelief not injurious to the public, which gives one man a right to despise another unless he claims for himself a perfect immunity from all such frailties. Only the scorner of dark ages and the dreamer of an age—his own the only age—of light, deserves contempt when discovered in the chains of superstition. He who stands abased before God and himself, feeling how little he knows of relations and agencies, how indistinct the boundaries between that veneration which he feels to be one of his noblest facul-



ties and that voluntary humility which assumes its form and acts its part, is not only a more respectable and a better, but a more intellectual man than the rude sceptic, speaking evil of the things he knows not, or the credulous person, who acts inconsistently with his belief.

II. Henry the Eighth, for example, believed in the Blood of Hales, while overturning the whole system which the miracle confirmed. This must be inferred from Latimer's exclamation in a sermon before Edward VI. "What became of his blood that fell down, trow ye? Was the blood of Hales of it? woe worth it! What ado was it to bring this out of the king's head. This great abomination of the blood of Hales could not be taken a great while out of his mind." \* And what was the trick that could thus delude the first king who formally assumed the headship of the church? a headship, be it observed, not such as churchmen can admit in any king, but a right to regulate doctrine as well as govern persons. In a gloomy oratory at Hales Abbey, in Gloucestershire, the pilgrim was directed to look upon a phial, reputed to contain the blood of our blessed Saviour, but invisibly to all in mortal sin. The monks who could sanction so nefarious a fraud, of course never allowed it to be visible while they could extort payments from a penitent; and as the glass vessel containing the venerated deposit was of unequal thickness, this was managed by simply turning it half round. Whether it was honey, as reported by the commissioners, or duck's blood, as stated by Thomas in his "*Pelerin Inglese*," the liberal and wealthy beheld at last this object of their devotion—the pledge of pardon—and departed in a fool's paradise.

III. It may, indeed, be a moot point whether the machinery used in many sermons of after days to

\* Seventh Sermon before Edward, fol. 84.



awaken men to repentance was not of an equally exceptionable character. It was less culpable because the preacher believed as he said, and two circumstances conspire to make it difficult to deal fairly with the subject alluded to. One is that the healthy frame of mind for the Christian church is that of expectation; of hourly preparedness for the coming of the bridegroom, of daily anxiety to trace his harbingers, and go forth to meet him. Hence, when preachers speak of this event as close at hand, they do no more than follow the apostolic model. It is only when the grounds they assume for such expectations are notoriously fallacious that they can be charged with superstition. Thus, to expect the second advent on calculation from the prophetic periods may be mistaken, but need not be weak; to expect it because a comet was in the sky, or a woman had borne a monstrous child, or because the light of the gospel was shining with a clearness which God had never vouchsafed to his church before, or a pestilence was ravaging some district, or the human race was dwindling in size, or men were planting, building and marrying, and not cutting their hair sufficiently short,\* this was surely to expect it superstitiously. A few examples will show how far such superstition was chargeable on the Reformation pulpit. The following is from a sermon preached at Exeter by Chardon, afterwards Bishop of Down and Connor:—  
“These five signs shall go before the coming of Christ. I. There shall be signs in the sun and moon, and in the stars—that is, as St. Mark writeth, the sun shall be darkened, the moon shall not give her light, and the stars of heaven shall be seen to fall. II. In the

\* “The preachers of this time were very hard upon gallant youths and proper serving men, whose heads are hanged with hair as if they would fright away both Christ and his minister from the place where they stand.”—Topsell’s 2d Serm. p. 25.



earth the people shall be at their wit's end through despair—that is, as St. Mark again doth interpret, nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. III. The sea and the water shall roar—that is, there shall be cruel tempests, or vehement and unaccustomed winds. IV. By reason of these, men's hearts shall fail them for fear, and for looking after the things that shall come upon the earth. V. The powers of heaven shall move—that is, there shall be strange sights in the heaven, and in the earth there shall be earthquakes in all quarters. Briefly, the heaven, the earth, and sea shall witness and declare the day of the Lord to be at hand. Now, beloved, we ourselves may witness that most of these signs and tokens are passed already, for we have seen strange eclipses of the sun and moon;\* we have seen nation to rise against nation, and kingdom to rise against kingdom; we have heard of cruel tempests, vehement and unaccustomed winds, with other strange things, and therefore we may justly prognosticate, yea, and believe, that the ends of the world are come upon us, and that it will not be long before Christ will come unto judgment. Behold, saith our Saviour, the fig-tree, and all other trees; when they shoot forth their buds, ye see and know of your own selves that summer is nigh at hand; so likewise, ye also when ye see these things come to pass, be sure that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand. But we have seen most of these to come to pass, and therefore, let us think no otherwise but that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand, and that the Lord is ready to take his fan in his hand, to purge his floor, to gather his wheat

\* It must be remembered that the influence of the stars on mankind was an admitted fact. Longland, in his remarkable sermon on laying the foundation-stone of Cardinal's College, (Christ Church) Oxford, in describing the future studies of its inmates, says, "*Astronomia cœleste corpus inspicit, Astrologia influentiam ejus corporis.*"



into his barn, and burn the chaff with unquenchable fire. Other tokens there are besides these to prove unto us that the end of the world hangeth over our necks, among which, in my judgment, the preaching of the gospel is not the least; for, as our Saviour saith in the twenty-fourth chapter after the gospel of St. Matthew, the gospel of the kingdom shall be preached throughout the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come; by which words the Son of Man doth plainly declare that about the time of the world's destruction the true and comfortable doctrine of Christ should be preached; whereby it is gathered that the same was obscured and darkened, and almost defaced, by reason of the false prophets and apostles afore that time. But now again, by the unspeakable grace and mercy of God, we do plainly perceive such a clear light of the gospel to shine over the whole world, that in spite of the devil and his adherents, it casteth his bright beams over all nations, and therefore, what other thing may we look for but, as Christ did foretel, a sudden downfall of this miserable and wretched world. Another token of the overthrow of this world is because we do plainly perceive all things daily to wax worse and worse, and to decrease in virtue. The air is oftentimes corrupt, sometimes with untimely showers, sometimes with unprofitable dryness; now with too much cold, and now with extreme heat. The fruitfulness of the earth is not such as it hath been aforetime. Moreover we may think and perceive the foundations of the world to be worn out, and the same to be falling on our shoulders, when we sensibly perceive ourselves to live in those days which our Saviour hath foreshowed, I mean eating and drinking, marrying and married, buying and selling, planting and building; for never more did men eat and drink, never did they faster marry wives in the days of Noah,



never more did they buy and sell and plant and build in the days of Lot than they do now, which may prove unto us that the ends of the world are come upon us."

IV. Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln, however, evinced a contempt for natural philosophy, in his Catalogue of Premonitions, which exceeded any thing in Chardon. Ice "thirty cubits deep in the sea, about Pontus," and a hundred eclipses in the sun and moon, in a few years, were indeed startling phenomena. "And although the hour, day, or year of Christ's coming be to us unknown, yet hath he given us certain tokens whereby we may assuredly know when it approacheth or draweth nigh..... And truly, dearly beloved, there is nothing mentioned there by Christ to come before the last day or by the Holy Ghost.....but it is evidently to the eye of all faithful people fulfilled..... Have we not had within this few years above an hundred eclipses of the sun and of the moon? Have we not seen many comets and other strange and wondrous fiery impressions in the air? Have we not had many horrible tempests of wind, rain, hail, snow, thunder, and lightning, to the great hurt of man and beast? What shall I say of the great deluges of water at Naples, at Rome, in Germany, in Flanders, in England? Snow hath fallen twenty cubits deep; the sea about Pontus hath been frozen to the thickness of thirty cubits; earthquakes in Italy, divers in Greece, in Asia, in Barbary, in Spain, in England, and many other places. As for monsters both by sea and by land, of men and of beasts, a marvellous number;\* a many of which are recorded and put in writing with the note of their times, places, and signs. And of these manner of figures before spoken, sundry have lighted here with us in this realm, so that we cannot say but God forewarneth us as deeply as he hath done any nation..... For if a spar-

\* See Str. Mem. II., 587, and Zurich Letters, p. 69.



row fall not, or a little worm of the earth creep not, or a rude ass wander not without his certain providence, much more ought we to believe that so strange things as I have spoken of before, are not disposed by any other power to fall in these or those days but by his only, to verify the promises, threatenings, and forewarnings, that his son, our Saviour, hath given us of his last coming to judgment." \*

v. In a sermon by Francis Trigge, the same argument is maintained as follows:—"I would that our Esaus would learn that good lesson of David, Absalom's father, which his disobedient son would not learn, that God will wound the hairy scalp of his enemies, or that good lesson of St. Paul, 'Doth not nature itself teach that it is a shame for a man to have long hair?' And will they glory in their shame? Surely it is a sign that sin is full ripe when it falleth out of the husks and vaunteth itself abroad naked and uncovered. The harvest cannot be far off..... But to let these authorities pass, experience teacheth the same. The generation of man which now remaineth upon the face of the earth is neither so big in stature nor so strong in body, nor of so many years in their lives as were the generations before. The bones which we find in graves digged up of those men which were buried next before our memories testify the same. Our skulls are but shells in comparison of them, our bones are but straws and little sticks to theirs, and the same strength of procreation which God gave to Adam in the beginning is now waxen weak, and almost extinguished, like engendering like, as the philosophers say..... What speak I of the decay of man—our meadows, our lands, and pastures, testify the same; so that every one may plainly see that the old age of the earth is now, and that her

\* Godly Sermon, preached at Lincoln by Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln. 1575. Sign. B. i., B. iii.



force faileth her, and that by and by she shall fall and fade away of herself. .... Let us think we see our goodly houses burning, our gardens waste, our glory in the dust, and surely so shall we see it ere it be long." \*

VI. In no case should the distinction set out with be more carefully kept in view than when the delusions and the crimes of witchcraft are alluded to. The witch mania neither originated with the reformation, nor attained its ultimate violence in the sixteenth century. The idea was indeed very prevalent at that time of some convention between human monsters and evil spirits to wreak their malevolence on their fellow-creatures; and it is not wonderful that divines should catch the infection of such a thought, borne out, as they supposed it to be, by various scriptures. But considering the prevalence of the belief, the fearful ravages it made in Alsace, and the astounding evidence by which it was supported, there is reason to wonder that the English preachers spoke of it so moderately and so seldom, and rarely found anything worse to be complained of than that sufferers in health or property "are unquiet until they have consulted with wizards and witches, notwithstanding in awe of God's threatenings against that sin." †

Yet a more awful being than the witch of the six-

\* The theory of the decay of the race has been exploded, and there are few now who would acknowledge their belief in it. It is not, however, so generally known that the argument is all on the other side;—that the average height of Englishmen is the heroic height of the Greeks; that the rings from the fingers of mummies will rarely fit the corresponding finger of a modern; that Dr. Meyrick found difficulty in obtaining on one occasion a sufficient number of men small enough to wear his ancient armour; and that the soldiers under Sir J. Moore performed feats of strength and endurance beyond anything recorded of Romans; while the advances in geology and comparative anatomy have assigned the gigantic bones to saurians and megatheria.

† Greenham's Works; exp. of 119th Psalm. Greenham asks,



teenth and seventeenth centuries never haunted the diseased fancy of any before or after generation; a being generally crushed down by poverty and age, but rising above them in horrible triumph in a power capable of good or evil. Her spells could banish disease, and arrest the hand of death; her eye could dry up at a glance the fountains of joy and youth, and lay upon her victim

The curse of the withered heart

And the curse of the sleepless eye,

Till he wish and pray that his life may part,

Yet not find leave to die.

Her trembling and bony fingers could launch the lightning;\* she could ride upon the storm; the lusts of youth and the enterprises of manhood were still fresh for her and her compeers; and they were armed—until their hour—in a superhuman might, which tamed the elements, and disputed his will with the God of nature.†

Tentative witchcraft has no doubt been a common sin, especially when talked about and legislated upon so constantly as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For then confessions wrung from wretched women upon the rack gave form and colour to all their in his eleventh Sermon, “Whereof comes it that suddenly a poor man becomes a cunning artist? or that an ignorant man should speak with divers tongues? . . . . . Do not all these prove that Satan is a spiritual wickedness?”—Works, p. 312.

\* This is a disputed point, however. Perkins asserts it. Top-sell, on the contrary, says, “It is a wicked and damnable opinion of the multitude that the devil can raise thunder.”—18th Serm.

† I have not added the power of transmuting their forms, assigned them by popular superstition, for Perkins, preaching at Cambridge, confutes their opinion “who think and avouch that they can turn their bodies into the bodies of other creatures, as cats, hares, &c., and also make their bodies to pass through a key hole.”—Vol. iii. p. 182.



proceedings, until their sports at the Domdaniel, the wording of their spells, their habits while sailing in sieves upon the sea, or riding on broomsticks through the air, were as well known as the handicrafts of their neighbours. The more they were persecuted, the more they multiplied. Curiosity, stimulated by the punishments of the imputed crime, made hundreds, by attempting, incur the real guilt of it, and doubtless many were convinced that they had succeeded. By disclosures, in some instances voluntary, men, women, and even little children,\* accused themselves, named their familiars, described the he goat with a head at either extremity, whose shape was worn by Satan on solemn occasions, and the grotesque costume he preferred on ordinary visits, and were burned on their own confessions.

VII. But these notions did not belong to protestants alone. In the "Profitable and Necessary Doctrine" set forth by Boner, this undoubted persuasion as to the then practice of witchcraft is evidently maintained. "Without doubt such witches, conjurors, enchanters, and such like, do work by the operation and aid of the devil; and unto him, for the attaining of their wicked enterprises, they do service and honour, of which abomination we are warned and expressly commanded to take heed and fly from Lev. xix., where it is thus written: *Non declinatis ad magos*—that is, 'turn ye not to them which do use magical arts or works with the devil,' for without all doubt most grievously do they offend against the honour of God, who, having in their baptism professed to renounce the devil and all his works, do yet nevertheless make secret pacts and cove-

\* "*Philomathes*. What can be the cause that there are twenty women given to that craft where there is one man?

*Epistemon*. The reason is easy: that sex is frailer....

*Phil*. Then bairns may not be spared?

*Epist*. Yea, not a hair."—King James' Works, pp. 116, 134.



nants with the devil, or do use any manner of conjurations to raise up devils for treasure, or any other thing hid or lost, or for any manner of cause, whatsoever it be; for all such commit so high offence and treason to God, that there can be no greater, for they yield the honour due unto God to the devil, God's enemy..... Let no man ask counsel of them that use false divinations, or such as take heed to dreams or chattering of birds; let there be no witch or enchanter amongst you, nor any that asketh counsel of them that have spirits, nor of soothsayers, nor that seek the truth of them that be dead, for God abhorreth all these things." \*

VIII. The worst that can be said of the reformed preachers on this matter is, that the light of the gospel had not discovered to them the large amount of groundless suspicion which such opinions involved. And when Lord Burleigh could procure the horoscope of the queen, it is no wonder that Bishop Jewel should be anxious for her safety. The passage in his sermons, which has been repeatedly quoted, contains no more than the natural utterance of a loyal and affectionate heart. "Here perhaps some man will reply, that witches and conjurers oftentimes chase away one devil by means of another. Possible it is so; but that is wrought not by power but by collusion of the devils, for one devil, the better to attain his purpose, will give place, and make as though he stood in awe of another devil. And, by the way, to touch a word or two of this matter, for that the horrible using of your poor subjects enforceth thereunto, it may please your grace to understand that this kind of people—I mean witches and sorcerers—within these last few years are marvelously increased within this your grace's realm. These eyes have seen most evident and manifest marks of their wickedness. Your grace's subjects pine away

\* Profitable Doctrine, Hh. ii.



even unto the death, their colour fadeth, their flesh rotteth, their speech is benumbed, their senses are bereft. Wherefore your poor subjects' most humble petition unto your highness is, that the laws touching such malefactors may be put in due execution; for the shoal of them is great, their malice intolerable, the examples most miserable, and I pray God they never practice further than upon the subject. But this only by the way, these be the scholars of Beelzebub, the chief captain of the devils." \*

By the way! well had it been if such seed had shared the fate of way-side sowing; but it fell on ground too ready for its reception. In 1562, a severe act for the punishment of invocation of evil spirits, enchantments, sorceries, and witchcrafts, became law. The plague was begun, and some of its ravages may be traced in the contemporary pulpit of the sixteenth century. The preachers of that age cannot indeed be accused of promoting its horrors,† although few of them probably so far suspected the prevalent opinions as pointedly to protest against them. In 1580, the sorcerers who had so long been conspiring against the queen's life, "in whose times these abominations sprang and grew up and increased to such a height,"‡ had effected nothing. This is acknowledged with gratitude in a sermon by H. B., preached before her in that year. "Therefore, that we in England have been so long, so mightily, and so miraculously delivered from the hands of them that hate us, (which are so many, and so mighty, and so

\* Jewel's Serm. on Luke, xi. 15. All the bishop could say did not shield him from the imputation of using the black art himself, his eloquence and learning being attributed to the suggestions of a familiar in form resembling a cat.

† Edward Topsell, however, says, "There is not one among us but who would cry against an open and notorious witch, Burn her! burn her!"—Sermons, p. 80.

‡ Chr. Hooke, 1603.



maliciously bent against us,) that their treacheries and conspiracies, their counsels, and confederacies, have been so many times revealed, and so many ways prevented, that they have not taken from us our most gracious Queen Elizabeth by their gun-shot, their witchcraft, their conjuring, their sorcery, and their dealings with the devil himself, to the utter overthrow of the present state and religion,"\* called forth his joyful thanksgiving. The form, however, in which this superstition appears most harrowing in retrospect is that alluded to in the first sentence of the quotation from Jewel; when some kind neighbour, having gained a local celebrity by the application of any very simple and successful remedy to a prevalent complaint, now that relics had gone out of fashion, and there were no imaginary airs from heaven, there came blasts from hell—she healed by a charm: the old woman was a witch, and the monuments of her charity turned evidence against her. This iron sentiment lurks under the words of "Silver-tongued Smith," as he was called, not undeservedly, by his admiring contemporaries. They occur in his sermon of Satan compassing the earth. "The devil goeth a visiting: he will teach the sick how they shall recover their health, he will whisper the poor how they shall come by riches, he will tell the captives how they shall redeem their liberty, but to devour is the end of his visitation."

IX. Perkins, the great pulpit authority in these matters, describes the two kinds of sorcerers implied in this passage, and the process in question, with great accuracy:—

"The bad witch is he or she that hath consented in league with the devil to use his help, for the doing of hurt only as to strike and annoy the bodies of men, women, children, and cattle with diseases, and with

\* Serm. by H. B., p. 15.



death itself; so likewise to raise tempests, by sea and by land, &c. This is commonly called the binding witch.

“The good witch, is he or she that by consent in a league with the devil, doth use his help for the doing of good only. This cannot hurt, torment, curse or kill, but only heal and cure the hurts inflicted upon men or cattle, by bad witches. For as they can do no good, but only hurt; so this can do no hurt, but good only. And this is that order which the devil hath set in his kingdom, appointing to several persons their several offices and charges. And the good witch is commonly termed the unbinding witch.

“Now, howsoever both these be evil, yet of the two, the more horrible and detestable monster is the good witch: for look in what place soever there be bad witches that hurt only, there also the devil hath his good ones, who are better known then the bad, being commonly called wisemen, or wisewomen. This will appear by experience in most places in this country. For let a man's child, friend, or cattle be taken with some sore sickness, or strangely tormented with some rare and unknown disease, the first thing he doth, is to bethink himself and inquire after some wiseman or wisewoman, and thither he sends and goes for help. When he comes, he first tells them the state of the sick man: the witch then being certified of the disease, prescribeth either charms of words to be used over him, or other such counterfeit means, wherein there is no virtue; being nothing else but the devil's sacraments, to cause him to do the cure, if it come by witchcraft. Well, the means are received, applied, and used, the sick party accordingly recovereth, and the conclusion of all is, the usual acclamation; Oh happy is the day, that ever I met with such a man or woman to help me!”\*

\* Perkins' Works, vol. iii., p. 638.



x. Sometimes the evil one was believed to appear uncalled for, if not unsent, in bodily shape. Latimer relates an authenticated instance "written by a Spaniard, and affirmed by many godly and well-learned men. .... A poor husbandman, lying sore sick and ready to die, they that kept him company in the chamber where he lay saw a man of great stature and very horrible to look upon, his eyes being all fiery, coming into the chamber. This terrible devil, turning himself unto the sick body, said, 'Sir, thou must die this day, and I am come hither to fetch thy soul, for that pertaineth unto me.' The sick man answered with a good countenance, saying, 'I am ready to depart whensoever I shall be called of my Lord which gave unto me my soul.....therefore unto him only will I deliver it, and not unto thee'.....Then said the devil, 'Thou art laden with many sins, and I am come hither to write them together,' and forth he draweth out of his bosom pen, ink, and paper, setting himself at the table that stood there ready to write. The sick man.....perceiving his intent, said.....'If thou wilt write my sins thou mayest do it, and then write thus, that all my righteousness is as a cloth stained.....therefore I cannot stand in the judgment of God.' The devil, sitting at the table, wrote this with a good will, and desired the sick man to go forward in confessing and numbering his sins.....Then the sick man saith, 'Thou, O God, hast promised that though our sins be as red as the scarlet, thou wilt make them white as the snow.' But these words he wrote not, and instantly desired him to go forward as he had begun. Then the sick man, with great sorrow and heaviness, cried out, saying, 'The Son of God appeared to that end, that he might destroy the works of the devil.' And after these words the devil vanished out of sight. Here you see how the devil will go to work with us



when we are sick ; therefore let us learn now when we are in health to know God and his word, that we may withstand this horrible enemy." \*

XI. Such records must have made it important to congregations in those days to know how the malignant influence in question might be lawfully avoided. There was a simple way in which Christians might secure themselves from all such diabolical machinations ; so, at least, stated Mr. Francis Trigge, of whom I only know that, in the sermon whence the following quotation is taken, there are passages of as charming eloquence and deeply devotional feeling as in the best of Jewel's :—“ I read another history, of Bodinus' own knowledge, that in the year of our Lord 1567, when, as he was one of the deputies of the chief burgess, in an assembly holden at Pittois, that there were certain witches came in simple attire to ask alms at a very rich man's door ; which, being denied them, they so bewitched the house that all the household ran mad, and so died. And in the same chapter he affirmeth that the witches have confessed that they cannot hurt him that is liberal to the poor. Thus we may see how experience, and the very confessions of witches, agree that the merciful lenders and givers are preserved of God, and unmerciful usurers and covetous Nabals are vexed and troubled of Satan ; and who is there now that would not be glad to be preserved from witchcraft ? Who would not be free from the power of Satan ? Why, then, lend freely and give liberally.....this is the surest and most Christian remedy against witchcraft.” †

XII. Another valuable prophylactic was keeping a good courage ; not by fostering incredulity, for “ it is a policy of the devil to persuade us there is no devil, as it is the policy of wizards to persuade us there are

\* Latimer's Sermon on First Sunday after Epiphany, 1552.

† Sign. F. 4.



no witches ;” \* but by steady confidence in a power superior to Satan’s. “ For as man feareth man keeping courage, and is pursued without courage ; nay, as brute beasts are boldened by many a one which feareth them, so the devil is the bolder if he seeth us afraid..... And besides, that fear drieth up the blood and weakeneth nature, it doth also deprive us of faith in God, his providence, which doth assure us that Satan’s power is all by derivation and limitation. It cannot touch the body without permission, much less the soul ; which is manifest, for that witches, though they prevail in petty and little things ; yet when they come to great points, they can do nothing, so singular a preservative to the godly is the providence of God, as the unicorn’s horn to the inferior beasts.” †

After all, Perkins considers it scarcely an open question, “ whether a child of God can be bewitched or no,” for he determines it strongly in the affirmative ; and this brings on two other questions, how to exorcise the evil spirit, and how to detect the witch ; the latter appears to have been the better understood.

XIII. When the precautions above alluded to had been omitted or failed of success, remedies of another kind might be tried. Holy water was so accounted good in 1548. “ Alexander’s holy water,” says Latimer, “ yet at this day remaineth in England, and is used for a remedy to chase away spirits or devils.” ‡ At a later date, some Puritan preachers acted as exorcists, and when “ Old Jone,” or any of her sisterhood, gave Satan a drop of her blood § to go and

\* Greenham’s Eleventh Sermon, p. 313. † Ibid. 314.

‡ 4th Serm. before Edward.

§ Dr. Fulke alludes to the same species of contract : “ He that of old time by the blood of the Lamb was overcome and dispossessed of heaven, he by a drop of blood is content to take possession of his witches and sorcerers here on earth.”—Serm. at St. Botolph’s, Aldersgate, 1573.



torment a miserable victim, John Fox, or Lawrence Humphrey, or John Lane, a famous and godly preacher within the diocese of Chester, and perhaps many other admirers of the new platform, would say, in the words of Fox, "Thou most devouring lion, I command thee, in the name of Christ Jesus, that thou avoid!"\* And the success of the adjuration was sometimes vouched for by a pulpit testimony, as in the case of "Mr. Lane's cure of a maiden at Chester from an horrible kind of torment and sickness, Feb. 16, 1564." "Maister Rogers, Archdeacon of Chester, in his sermon made in the cathedral church of Chester, the fourth of this instant, March, before the mayor of the city, the bishops of Chester and St. Asaph's, with a great multitude of the city besides, having occasion offered by the words of the then present gospel, touched this fact, alleging that whatsoever was the cause of so great and strange a disease, yet was the cure wonderful, and wrought by God either to the great commodity, or else for the great plague of the city of Chester and the country adjoining."†

XIV. Some preachers, on the other hand, not opposed generally in sentiment to the Puritans, denied that they possessed any such power. Perkins, the most copious pulpit authority of his age on witchcraft, makes it a point of protestantism to disbelieve in exorcism altogether. He allows "that any Christian may lawfully call upon the name of the Lord Jesus in prayer for the help and deliverance of those that are possessed and bewitched," but states, that "in these days the gift is ceased, and also the promise of power annexed to the use of adjuration, and therefore the means thereof must needs cease."‡ His directions for the discovery

\* Maitland's Notes on the Contributions of Mr. Townsend to the New Edition of Fox. Puritan Thaumaturgy, p. 143.

† Ibid. p. 124.

‡ Perkins' Work, vol. iii. p. 650.



and examination of witches, however, are so copious and curious that the reader will not be wearied by a long quotation. It is taken from a discourse occupying forty-five closely-printed folio pages, being a digest, made shortly after his death, of sermons he had left upon the subject, delivered "in his ordinary course of preaching," and is entitled, "The Application of the Doctrine of Witchcraft to our Times." Perkins, it seems, had no confidence in many of the ordinary methods of conviction; and though he did not live to argue the matter with the Royal Dæmonologist, he was averse to binding the witch and casting her into the water, proving her with red hot iron, scratching her, burning the roof of her house, or taking the unsupported testimony of a convicted colleague, who might after all be only the devil himself wearing a human shape. "For put the case; the grand jury at the assizes goeth on a party suspected, and in their consultation the devil comes in the likeness of some known man, and tells them the person suspected is indeed a witch, and offers to confirm it on oath; should the inquest receive his oath or accusation to condemn the man? Assuredly no."\* The proper course, then, was to search for the devil's mark, "for it is commonly thought, when the devil maketh his covenant with them, he always leaveth his mark behind him, whereby he knows them for his own;" and he will "challenge us for his if he find his mark upon us."† It was by no means wrong, failing in this, to put the vehemently-suspected upon the rack:—"Now if the party held in suspicion be examined, and will not confess, but obstinately persist in denial, as commonly it falleth out; then there is another course to be taken by a second sufficient means of conviction: which is, the testimony of two witnesses, of good and honest report, avouching

\* Perkins' Works, vol. iii. p. 644.

† Chedsey, 1545.



before the magistrate upon their own knowledge, these two things : either that the party accused, hath made a league with the devil ; or hath done some known practices of witchcraft. And all arguments that do necessarily prove either of these, being brought by two sufficient witnesses, are of force fully to convince the party suspected. For example :

“ First, if they can prove that the party suspected hath invocated and called upon the devil, or desired his help. For this is a branch of that worship, which Satan bindeth his instruments to give unto him. And it is a pregnant proof of a league formerly made between them.

“ Secondly, if they can give evidence, that the party hath entertained a familiar spirit, and had conference with, in form or likeness of a mouse, cat, or other visible creature.

“ Thirdly, if they affirm upon oath, that the suspected person hath done any action or work, which necessarily inferreth a covenant made ; as that he hath shewed the face of a man suspected being absent, in a glass ; or used enchantment, or such like feats. In a word, if they both can avouch upon their own proper knowledge, that such a man or woman suspected, have put in practice any other actions of witchcraft, as to have divined of things afore they come to pass, and that peremptorily ; to have raised tempests, to have caused the form of a dead man to appear, or the like, standing either in divination or operation, it proveth sufficiently that he or she is a witch.

“ But some may say, if these be the only strong proofs for the conviction of a sorcerer, it will be then impossible to put any one to death, because the league with Satan is closely made, and the practices of sorcery are also very secret, and hardly can a man be brought, which upon his own knowledge can aver such things.



“ I answer, howsoever both the ground and practice be secret, and to many unknown, yet there is a way to come to the knowledge thereof. For it is usual with Satan to promise anything, till the league be ratified: but when it is once made, and the party entangled in society with him, then he endeavoureth nothing more, then his or her discovery, and useth all means possible to disclose them. So that what end soever the witch proponeth to herself in the league, he intendeth nothing else, but her utter confusion. Therefore in the just judgment of God, it often falleth out that these, which are true witches indeed, shall either by confession discover themselves, or by true testimony be convinced. The causes which move the devil not only to effect but to hasten this discovery are two principally.

“ The first is, his malice towards all men, in so high a degree that he cannot endure that they should enjoy the world, or the benefits of this life (if it were possible) so much as one hour. Though therefore by virtue of the precontract, he be cock-sure of his instrument, yet his malice is not herewith satisfied, till the party be brought to light, and condemned to death. Which may be a caveat to all ill disposed persons, that they beware of yielding themselves unto him.

“ The second, is his insatiable desire of the present and full possession of them, whom he hath got within the bonds of the covenant. For though he have good hope of them, yet is he not certain of their continuance. The reason is, because some united with him in confederacy, have through the great mercy of God, by careful usage of holy means, and faith in Christ, been reclaimed and delivered out of his bondage, and so at length freed from his covenant, so as he hath eternally left them. Hence it is, that he labours by might and main, to keep them in ignorance, and to prevent the usage of means effectual to their conver-



sion, by laying a plot for their discovery. But how then comes it to pass, that all such persons are not speedily detected, but some live long, and others die without any man's privity? Ans. The reasons hereof may be divers.

“First, because some one or more of them may belong to God's election : and therefore albeit, for causes best known to himself, he suffer them for a time to be holden in the snares of Satan, yet at length in mercy he reclaims them, and in the mean time suffereth not the devil to exercise the depth of his malice in discovering them to their confusion. Again, for others, the Lord may in justice and anger suffer them not to be disclosed, that living under the means, where they might be reclaimed, and wilfully contemning the same; they may live to fill up the measure of their iniquities, and thereby be made finally inexcusable, that they may receive their juster condemnation.

“Secondly, the devil suffereth some to live long undisclosed, that they may exercise the greater measure of his malice in the world, specially if they be parties maliciously bent to do hurt to men, and other creatures.

“Thirdly, some witches do warily agree with the devil, for a certain term of years, during which time he bindeth himself not to hurt them, but to be at their command. And Satan is careful, specially in case of his own advantage, to keep touch with them, that they the more strongly cleave unto him on their parts. But if the case so stand, that neither the party suspected confesseth, nor yet sufficient witnesses can be produced, which are able to convict him or her, either of these two ways; we have no warrant out of the word, either in general, or in special, to put such an one to death. For though the presumption be never so strong, yet they are not proofs sufficient for conviction, but only for examination.



“I would therefore wish and advise all jurors, who give their verdict upon life and death in courts of assizes, to take good heed, that as they be diligent in zeal of God’s glory, and the good of his church, in detecting of witches, by all sufficient and lawful means; so likewise they would be careful what they do, and not to condemn any party suspected upon bare presumptions, without sound and sufficient proofs, that they be not guilty through their own rashness of shedding innocent blood.” \*

xv. It is impossible to quit this subject without observing that the power of prophesying things future was at this time formally claimed by some preachers, and attributed to others. Bishop Aylmer, who, opposed as he ultimately became to him in sentiment, had once a very high opinion of Fox, is said by Fox’s biographer to have been “accustomed, in the presence of many living persons, to declare that he was present at a sermon wherein Master Fox, among many other things which he preached to comfort the banished English, did with confidence tell them that now was the time come for their return to England, and that he brought them that news by commandment from God.” † It proved in the issue that Queen Mary died the day preceding. Knox claimed the prophetic power in so many words; and Dr. McCrie, so far from doubting that he affected it, inclines to think he had it: “I dare not deny (lest that in doing so I should be injurious to the giver) but that God hath revealed unto me secrets unknown to the world; and also that he hath made my tongue a trumpet to forewarn realms and nations, yea, certain great personages, of mutations and changes when no such things were feared nor yet was appearing, a portion whereof, cannot the world deny (be it never so blind) to be fulfilled, and the rest,

\* Perkins’ Works, vol. iii. p. 645.

† Life of Fox.



(alas!) I fear, shall follow with greater expedition, and in more full perfection than my sorrowful heart desireth. These revelations and assurances, notwithstanding, I did ever abstain to commit anything to writ, contented only to have obeyed the charge of him who commanded me to cry." \* One of his admirers claimed for Latimer the same extraordinary prescience:—"God not only gave unto him his Spirit comfortably to preach his word unto his church, but also, by the same Spirit, he did so evidently foreshew and prophesy of all those kinds of plagues before which afterwards ensued, that if England ever had a prophet he might seem to be one;" † and Providence "gave knowledge before to Master Rough in his sleep" of circumstances which related to the security of his congregation. ‡ The increasing frequency of such pretensions appears to have given rise to a positive demand for them, and even a determination to heed none who did not make them. A sermon by Lawrence Barker, seems almost entirely levelled against those who required and claimed miraculous power, "for," says he, "if some unlearned and vicious idiot will but pretend that he can do marvels, why that is the man—ye must have none but him." §

But Puritans and sorcerers did not entirely engross the supernatural powers of prophecy and healing. One lady in the land enjoyed both without the shadow of suspicion falling upon her that such faculties were unlawfully acquired. The former rests pretty much upon testimonies resembling that which will be adduced, but the latter is most incredibly attested. Indeed, it is easier to invent theories, than to acknowledge the difficulty that exists in accounting for the universal belief that our sovereigns could cure the most distressing ulcerations by a touch, tested as it was to such an ex-

\* Pref. to Sermon in the Church of Edinburgh, 1565.

† Fox, p. 1635.

‡ Ibid. p. 1967.

§ L. Barker.



tent, under circumstances of the greatest solemnity, and vouched for by medical men whose skill had been baffled by the same and similar cases. No doubt the results sprung from the same causes as the cures by mesmerism, the tractors and remedies of that class; but this is merely diffusing the inquiry over a wider surface—what those causes can be? “There is *divinatio in labiis regis*, divination in the lips of a king, (Prov. xvi.) So that they do often foresee, forespeak, and foretell things to come.....Secondly, there is a certain depth in the heart of a king which none can seek out, even higher than the heaven and deeper than the earth. Thirdly, they have gifts of healing which are miraculous and above nature.....If I should instance in these gifts and graces wherewithal God hath plentifully endowed her excellent majesty, and stand to amplify the wonderful depth of the wisdom of her heart, evident to her council in the most weighty affairs, to her subjects generally in her divine speeches at every parliament; or this gift of prophecy as I may call it, whereby she hath foreseen, foretold, and, if I may so say, forespoken that which an ordinary wisdom could not imagine,.....or the supernatural cures of weak, diseased people, amounting to the number of three or four hundred a year, or the divine providence of God in defending her as the apple of his eye from so many treasons, conspiracies, rebellions at home and abroad, it might be thought by some maligners of this festivity that I stand more upon the praises of my earthly mistress than upon the honour and glory of my heavenly Lord and Master.”\*

These are a few specimens of habits and proceedings very frequent in the latter half of the sixteenth

\* Sermon preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, Nov. 17, 1602, by John Howson, D. D. one of her Highness's Chaplains, and Vice-Chancellor of the University.



century. They might easily be multiplied, but they are sufficient to throw a just light upon the period, and beyond this it is useless to foster our own self-complacency, by setting forth how much we have advanced upon the wisdom of our ancestors, or to incur the charge of depreciating men to whom we owe very much. If modern astronomical and political observations have proved that comets may brandish their crystal tresses in the sky without producing any physical or moral effect in our solitary planet; if agricultural experience shews that the soil is as capable of fertility as ever; if insurance offices have demonstrated to their own astonishment man's increased longevity; if it turns out after all that the physical powers of the human creature improve with his advances in civilization;—if sorcerers can no longer inflict maladies, and kings can no longer cure them, the lessons those preachers enforced by faulty arguments are still for the most part lessons of life eternal,—the loyalty they expressed was very far from being so adulatory as tamer phrases would be in the present day, and happy were it could that high feeling be yet recalled to the popular breast which suggested and apologizes for the language. In this at least we have consolation—our motives to virtue are more strictly those of faith calmly looking onward to eternity. Our fear of Satan is not mixed up with the fatalism of witchcraft; and our superstitions operate, for the most part, harmlessly on ourselves, without exposing our fellow-creatures to suspicion, torture, and the flames.





## CHAPTER XII.

## USURY.

“You fell,” said they, “into the hands of the old man of the sea, and you are the first that ever escaped strangling by him. He never quitted those he had once made himself master of till he destroyed them.” *Story of Sinbad.*

## I.

ON few subjects of morals has there been such an entire revolution of opinion in modern times as on the lawfulness of receiving interest for the loan of money. The Papists held the injunctions of the Mosaic Law as obligatory in this matter. Popes, councils, and schoolmen had fulminated against usury in almost every conceivable shape, and tracked it out under every disguise. The Reformers, deviating in this from their usual method, adopted the same opinions, and maintained them with the same conviction of their truth. To neither did the limitation in Deut. xxiii. 20, suggest that this was one of those numerous provisions by which the Jewish family was to be united, and restrained in their dealings with each other, and no more obligatory on the rest of the world than a general restitution in the year of jubilee.

Modern Roman infallibility has been sorely puzzled to devise distinctions which shall justify the employment of money at interest. The eight chapters in



Peter Dens say and unsay, divide and sub-divide, until, when at last it turns out that interest is lawful, the effect is that of perfect legerdemain. The first toleration of interest for money in England is found in a statute, 13th of Elizabeth, which fixed the legal amount at ten per cent. Long afterwards, indeed, the act of James I., reducing interest to eight per cent., contained this provision—"That this statute shall not be construed or expounded to allow the practice of usury in point of religion or conscience." Still it was an approach to a sounder state of feeling, and made at a time when it became very necessary, from the extending commerce of the country.

II. One thing, however, is sufficiently remarkable in the moralists of the age in question. The man that *received* interest for his money is always treated as the worst of criminals; but the person who *tempted*, urged, and entreated him to lend, is regarded as his innocent victim. Edward, who in many respects was pious and conscientious, scrupled not to borrow money "at high interest—more than he could well pay"—of the London companies and Antwerp merchants; and no one appears even to have suggested that if it was wrong to receive, it must be wrong to borrow, upon usury. The reverse was deliberately maintained in the next generation at all events. "Some think the borrower to be an offender as well as the lender," says Leonard Wright, "but I am not of that mind, for God knoweth poor soul whereas he is enforced through extreme necessity, without any evil intent, [he] would be glad to borrow freely, and as long as the mind and intent is not defiled, no sin is committed"—indeed, assuming the usurer to be a person whom nothing could make worse, the argument fell readily into an abstract form. "It is one thing to make an instrument evil, and it is

\* Summons for Sleepers, p. 11. 1589.



another thing to use an evil instrument being already so made by another. To make an instrument evil is evil, to use an evil instrument is not evil simply, yea, to use an evil instrument to good ends is good.\* Without some such sophistry, indeed, it was a mere farce to preach to the King on the lender's sin, when they told him that "all swearers, all usurers, liars, and deceivers, were the seed of the devil; therefore they shall be cast out in the last day into everlasting fire."† . . . . "All they that live of usury, they have their gains by the devil,"‡ although this may seem too likely if all money lenders were like those "usurers in England who would take forty in the hundred."§

III. Mary was not the person to escape from the pecuniary embarrassments in which her brother left the kingdom, and thought it a less sin, perhaps, to pay interest for borrowed money than to steal it from the church. Her preachers, in the same way, told what they should have known to be half the truth. In Boner's Exposition of the Eighth Commandment, he puts usury down as one of the instances of "unlawful taking away," which is there forbidden;|| and also gives it a place among the seven deadly sins.¶

IV. The Elizabethan divines discussed this matter largely, and were, it is believed, universally agreed upon it. But a sermon of Knewstub's encounters it so fairly in all its difficulty, that it shall take precedence of others which come before it in chronological order. "How then can those who lend their money to usury (which decayeth not with use) claim anything above that which was delivered? By this law of lending,

\* Traheron's First Reading on Rev. 1558.

† Latimer. Sermon. 5th S. after Epiphany, p. 319.

‡ Ibid. Sermon. on St. Andrew's Day, p. 243.

§ Last Sermon. before Edward.

|| Profitable Doctrine, Rr. i. ¶ Ibid.



their recompence was commanded only in this title, that the thing by lending was certainly known to be impaired. How dare then the usurers claim a right of recompence, under none other title, but that it was likely with the use thereof, they might in that time, thus and so greatly have gained? It is the equity of God, to require no recompence for the use of things that are the worse for using, so long as there appeareth no casual hurt (as we call it) of the whole. What equity then must it be that for things not worse with use, contenteth not itself, no, not with the whole? Here, in this law of God good will is no better recompensed, but that it be no loser. Shall a covetous desire then so richly be requited, as that it shall be sure always to come home a gainer? By this equity of God, when it is certainly known that by the use of the thing borrowed, the borrower hath good gain, yet doth the Almighty allow no return of commodity to the lender for that gain. By what equity then can the usurer claim gain for the use, yea, oftentimes when it is certain there is no gain gotten at all? By this law of *God*, the lender could never gain. If it be granted that this law of God in borrowing and lending have in it any equity, this practice in borrowing and lending of money must be condemned of plain wrong and injury, as directly standing against the same. If this dealing shall fear the strict justice of borrowing and lending, and seek covert under the liberty of things let out to hire, it is also shut out there, and findeth worse entertainment. For hired things, because they go for hire, have not the ordinary allowance of the principal, if they shall decay, which borrowed things justly claim, because they come freely and without hire; therefore the law we had of hired things, handleth the usurer more hardly than that law of borrowing and lending. For here, because of his hire, he hath no hold of the prin-



cipal if it decay. Thus if it should be granted that money may be hired, which I think never can be proved: yet must it be with hazard of the principal, according to the equity of this law. That by the equity of this law, which is the equity of God, it can have no better allowance (if it shall be proved lawful to let it out for hire,) than to stand to the danger and decay of the principal, these reasons will plainly prove. The goods which naturally yield commodities in the use of them to him that possesseth them, as sheep and such other, must stand to the adventure of decay, if they be hired: therefore much more must they do so, which naturally and of themselves yield no commodities. If any man shall reply and say, that some of great deserving in the church of God, men of singular learning and judgment, have thought and taught otherwise; let them understand that there is no usury that is now in use with us, that can be upholden by their doctrine. For proof whereof, I refer myself unto that which is written by that worthy instrument of God, Mr. Calvin, upon this matter, in his commentaries upon Ezekiel, chapter eighteen: a man that hath said the most for the allowance of usury in some special cases. A man may not therefore take all gain, for if it exceed measure (because that is against charity) it is to be refused: and we have said already, that often to use it, and to make a common and usual practice of it, cannot be without fault. Neither is it to be allowed everywhere: because the usurer (as I have said) ought to have no place, nor once to be suffered in the church of God. Moreover, it is not to be taken of all men, because it shall always be extreme wickedness to take usury of a poor man. This is the opinion of that man, who of all other giveth most liberty, and is thought to be most favourable in this cause. As for him that liveth upon usury, as the husbandman doth upon his



husbandry, his judgment is that he ought to be thrust out of the society of men. Thus much for his judgment whom some usurers in this matter pretend to build upon." \*

v. Much to the same purpose, but more fancifully expressed, are the opinions of Smith, whose silver tongue might have been more profitably employed.

"Usury is that gain which is gotten by lending for the use of the thing which a man lendeth, covenanting before with the borrower to receive more than was borrowed; and therefore one calls the usurer a legal thief, because, before he steals, he tells the party how much he will steal, as though he stole by the law. This word, *more*, comes in like a sixth finger, which makes a monster, because it is more than should be. Now you have heard what usury is, you shall hear the unlawfulness of it. First, it is against the law of charity; because charity biddeth us to give every man his own, and to require no more than our own; but usury requireth more than our own, and gives not to others their own. Charity rejoiceth to communicate her goods to others, and usury rejoiceth to gather other men's goods to herself. Secondly, it is against the law of nations; for every nation hath some law against usury, and some restraint against usurers. . . . Thirdly, it is against the law of nature. You see a river, when it goeth by an empty place, it will not pass until it hath filled that empty place, and then it goeth forward to another empty place and filleth it, always filling the places which are empty. . . . As the water is charitable after a sort, so is the air; for it goeth into empty places too, and filleth them as the water doth." †

\* Knewstub's Lectures, pp. 137, 141. The Romanists, however, rejected Calvin's views as too lax. See Dens' Theol. Moral. De Contractibus, No. 41, X. † First Sermon on Usury.



VI. With prejudice, and, as it was then supposed, all honesty and piety so strong against it, the abuses of money-lending were, of course, charged against the practice itself, and probably the iniquity of the contracts generally made, and the tendency to extravagance in all classes, which was gaining ground under Queen Elizabeth, gave too much colour to the imputation. "Usury is a devil that all the disciples of Christ in England cannot cast out, for it is a kind that will not be cast out but by fasting and prayer. We read that there was a man possessed with a devil called Legion; he kept amongst the graves, and no man could pass quietly by him. I think usurers also are possessed with the same devil, for no man can pass without his marks. The father crieth, 'Oh, my son is undone by the usurer!' The son crieth, 'Oh, the usurer hath eaten up my father!' And every one that cometh that way where this same devil keepeth, crieth, 'God keep me from the usurer's hands!' No statutes, no laws, can tame usury; for he hath so many turnings and turnagains, that a man cannot tell where to find him; he is in money, in wares, in buying and selling for ready money, for time; in borrowing and lending by himself and by his brokers—the devil's huntsmen; and this is certain, usury is grown so strong, that it hath sinews and bones like a man, and walketh up and down the streets like a serving man, like a gentleman, like a merchantman, and I hope no man may justly say, like an alderman, 'God forbid!' But this I am sure of, it walketh so stoutly, that it taketh the wall of all honesty and religion."\*

VII. The reasoning of Drant on this matter is almost equal to his medicinal lore, and must have been very pleasant to those who, having feasted at their friends' tables, and borrowed their money, would rather bruise

\* Sermon by W. Burton.



their bodies in treacle than pay either principal or interest. "Usury is said to bite in the Scriptures; indeed it biteth, for it bringeth you out of the court into the counter, from silks to sackcloth, from plenty to penury. If you will be wise in time, believe not their money lent at a pinch, their great dinners, and their sweet entertainments, for in the end they will but bite you. No beast by biting doth hurt (almost) except it be angry, but these men, smiling and smirking, will bite you and undo you. The biting of a snake may be cured with the herb dittany, the biting of a mad dog may be cured with a crab-fish, but the biting of an usurer is so chargeable that it is almost uncurable. The stinging of a scorpion is healed with the body of a scorpion bruised into treacle; and surely methinks the magistrates should do right well if they would satisfy all those that have been bit by usurers, either with their goods, if they have them, or else with the punishment of their bodies if they have not. God mollify their hearts or break their teeth." \*

VIII. One obvious effect of the illegality of interest was to raise the rate. A lender was always in danger of legal penalties, the borrower, of course, had to pay for the risk as well as the value of the loan. This accounts for the ruin which borrowing usually wrought for those who were compelled to resort to it, and also for the bad character that seems to have attached to all lenders of money. Meanwhile, its lucrative nature, stimulated by prohibitory laws, would increase the number of usurers, and account for Archbishop Sandys' statements, "This canker hath corrupted all England; it has become the chief chaffer and merchandize of England." † The archbishop, however, has given a glimpse at the methods of evading the legal

\* Drant, Sermon at St. M. Spittle, 1572.

† Sandys' Sermon, p. 50.



penalties employed in his day, sufficiently illustrative to deserve quotation. The reasoning at least is all of one texture. "Every man is to his neighbour a debtor, not only of that which himself borroweth, but of whatsoever his neighbour needeth. A debtor not only to pay what he oweth, but also to lend that he hath and may conveniently spare; to lend, I say, according to the rule of Christ: 'Lend, looking for nothing thereby, and your reward shall be much, for ye shall be the sons of the Most High.' So that these over payments, the usury which hath spoiled and eaten up many, the canker of the commonwealth, is utterly both forbidden to man and abhorred of God. To bargain for lead, grain, or leases, with such as have neither lead, grain, nor lease to pay, neither any such matter meant, but only unlawful gain of money, the party to forfeit his obligation, because he neither can nor meaneth such payment, and the lender not content to receive less advantage than thirty at the hundred; this is but a patched cloak to cover this vile sin without. Whatsoever thou receivest upon condition, or by what means soever thou receivest more than was lent, thou art an usurer toward thy brother, and God will be a revenger against thee..... We are as much debtors to lend freely, as others faithfully to pay the thing which is lent." \*

Smith enters more in detail on the customary modes of contriving interest for money. "Some," he says, "will not take usury, but they will have the use of your pasture, or your land, or your orchard, or your team, or your kine, until you pay the money again, which in that time will grow to a greater gain to the usurer and a greater loss to the borrower, than if he had paid more money than other usurers are wont to take.

"Some will not take usury, but they will take plate,

\* Sermon xi. p. 203.



and vessel, and tapestry, and bedding, and other household stuff, to use and wear, until their money come home; which will lose more in wearing than the interest of the money would come to. This usury is forbidden in the 2nd of Amos, where God complaineth, saying: 'They lie down upon the clothes which are laid to pledge:' shewing, that we should not lie down upon such clothes; that is, we should not use or wear the thing which is laid to pledge.

"Some will take no usury, but they will take a pawn, which is better than the money which they lend, and then they will covenant, that if he bring not the money again by such a day, he forfeiteth his pawn: which day the usurer knoweth that the poor man is not able to keep, and so he keepeth the pawn for his money, which is worth twice his money. This usury is forbidden in Levit. 25, where it is said: 'Thou shalt not take usury or vantage.' As if he should say, 'Thou shalt not take the forfeiture, for then thou takest vantage, when thou takest more than thou lendest.'

"Some will not take usury, but they will buy something at a small price, and then covenant with the borrower, that he buy the same again of the same price at such a day: which day the usurer knoweth that the borrower is not able to keep, and so he getteth for a little, that which the other might have sold for much more. This usury is condemned in the first chapter to the Thessalonians, the fourth verse, where it is said, 'Let no man defraud or circumvent his brethren in any thing.'

"Some will not take usury, but they will lend out their money to occupiers, upon condition to be partakers in their gains, but not in their losses: so one takes all the pains, and abideth all the venture, and the other that takes no pains, reapeth half the profit. This usury is forbidden in 2nd Thess. chap. ii, verse 10, where it is said, 'He which will not work, let him not eat.'



“Some will not take usury, but if he be a labourer, or a mason, or a carpenter which borroweth of him, he will covenant with him for so many days’ work, he shall labour with him so many days, or so many weeks, for no money, but the love of money. This usury is condemned in Luke x. 7, where it is said, ‘The labourer is worthy of his hire.’

“Some will not take usury, but if you have not present money to pay for their wares, they will set a high price of them, for the forbearing of the time, and so they do not only sell their wares, but they sell time too: that is, they do not only sell their own, but they sell God’s own. Therefore one saith of these, When he selleth the day, he selleth the light; and when he selleth the night, he selleth rest: therefore when he would have the light of heaven, and the rest of Paradise, it shall be said unto him, that he hath sold both already. For he sold light, when he sold the day, and he sold rest, when he sold the night: and therefore now he can have neither light nor rest. Hereafter let not the Londoners say that they give time, but that they sell time.

“There be other usurers, which will not lend themselves, but give leave to their wives, and they play like hucksters; that is, every month a penny for a shilling, which is one hundred for another in the year.

“But that I was informed of them since this sermon was preached, I had left out our capital usurers which will not lend any money, because they dare not require so much gain as they would have; but if you would borrow an hundred pound, they will give you wares worth threescore pound, and you shall answer them an hundred pound for it. These are the usurers general, which lurk about the city like rats, and weasels, and fulmers: of whom may be said the same which is said of the devils: ‘They seek whom they may devour.’”\*

\* 1st Sermon on Usury.



IX. One man alone seems to have spoken with common sense on this subject, so far at least as conceding the principle went, and that was the persecuted professor Baro, in a sermon at Cambridge. "The last verse containeth yet two things, whereof the first is, that he giveth not his money to usury: touching which point, many things were to be spoken if the time would suffer; but we must be content with a few. This then is the meaning of the prophet, that albeit in the common weal by reason of the sundry affairs and dealings of men among themselves, and the use of money so manifold, and necessary for the trafficks of men, and that almost in every contract and bargain: albeit I say, for these and such other like causes, it is plain and evident that all gain which is gotten by money, is not to be condemned: yet a godly man must take diligent heed, sith there is also so great and many abuses of money, lest he abuse his money, to the hurt of his neighbour: as it is an usual practice amongst rich men, and some of the greater sort, who by lending, or by giving out their money to usury, are wont to snare and oppress the poor and needier sort: as they commonly are wont to do who sitting idle at home, make merchandise only of their money, by giving it out in this sort to such needy persons, altogether for gain's sake, without having any regard of his commodity, to whom they give it, but only of their own gain. For by this craft they easily get many into their snares, whom they do not only bite, which is meant by the noun נָשָׂא *nashac*, which David useth, but also devour and spoil. But the true worshippers of God are far from this wickedness, seeing they embrace others with true brotherly love, neither will they do that to any, which they would not have done to themselves. Which rule, in human affairs and contracts, is diligently of us evermore to be observed, if we will live uprightly as becometh us." \*

\* Baro's 2nd Sermon.



But Baro was a man advanced in mind beyond the age he lived in. The popular view was this: "He that taketh but a penny of gain is an usurer, as well as he that taketh ten pound." \*

x. As this is a subject which cannot easily be rendered interesting, one more quotation shall conclude it. If no considerations of law or gospel could teach the nation "that borrowing and lending are the very hands of Christianity," † in such sort that every one had a right to put them in his neighbour's pocket, let the usurers take care lest their profits return to them in a way they may not like. Francis Trigge relates the following alarming circumstances from Bodinus, that all usurers might fear lest their gains should come back to them like the nun's pound of salt. "Certain nuns beyond the seas in the country of Hornsey, (*sic*) lending a pound of salt to a witch, whom they thought to have been no witch, upon this condition, that she should pay them again three pounds within two months, were afterwards vexed and troubled much with spirits in their monastery above three years, and the salt was found scattered here and there in the monastery. The devil paid them again, but small to their profits." ‡

After such testimonies as these, it is not easy to see how any could "with the shadow of reformation, cloak and cover their usury," § or tamper in any such disguise with this youngest born of Satan, and likest of all to its Father." ||

\* Wright's Summons for Sleepers.

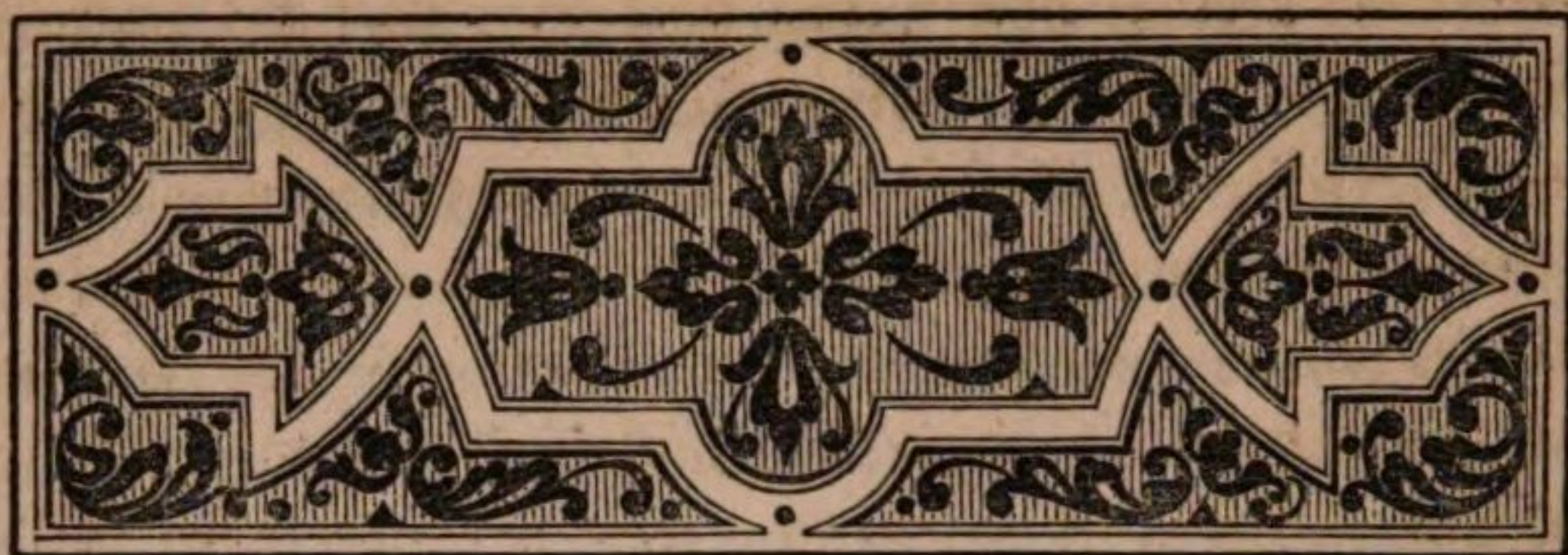
† Trigge's Serm. p. 38.

‡ Trigge.

§ Whitgift.

|| T. White.





## CHAPTER XIII.

## FASTING.

*Toby.* Wherefore, then, fast you not in Lent, the four Ember days, the Vigils and other fasting days, commanded by the church?

*Theophrast* . . . . . We greatly desire to have the true use of those fasts to be brought into the church. For there is great difference between correcting abuses and the abolishing of good things which men have abused; and as for the common fasts, there are no preachers which more commend them . . . . . than the true ministers of the gospel.

*Toby.* I do verily think that that which thou sayest is true, but I find few which follow that doctrine.—*Demoniak World.*

## I.

**F**EW that ever read can have forgotten the concluding words of Hooker's first sermon upon part of Jude:—"Beloved in Christ, we bow our knees, and lift up our hands to heaven in our chamber secretly, and openly in our churches we pray heartily and hourly, even for them also, though the pope hath given out as a judge in a solemn declaratory sentence of excommunication against this land, that our gracious lady hath quite abolished prayer within her realm; and his scholars, whom he hath taken from the midst of us, have in their published writings charged us, not only not to have any holy assemblies unto the Lord for prayer, but to hold



a common school of sin and flattery ; to hold sacrilege to be God's service ; unfaithfulness, and breach of promise to God, to give it to a strumpet, to be a virtue ; to abandon fasting ; to abhor confession ; to mislike with pennance ; to like well of usury ; to charge none with restitution ; to find no good before God in single life, nor in no well working ; that all men who fall to us, are much worse, and more than afore, corrupted. I do not add one word or syllable unto that which Mr. Bristow, a man both born and sworn amongst us, hath taught his hand to deliver to the view of all. I appeal to the conscience of every soul that hath been truly converted by us whether his heart were never raised up to God by our preaching ; whether the words of our exhortation never wrung any tear of a penitent heart from his eyes ; whether his soul never reaped any joy and comfort, any consolation in Christ Jesus, by our sacraments and prayers, and psalms and thanksgivings ; whether he were never bettered, but always worse, by us. Oh, merciful God ! if heaven and earth in this case do not witness with us and against them, let us be rased out from the land of the living ; let the earth on which we stand, swallow us quick, as it hath done Corah, Dathan, and Abiram. But if we belong unto the Lord our God, and have not forsaken him ; if our priests, the sons of Aaron, minister unto the Lord and the Levites in their office ; if we offer unto the Lord every morning, and every evening, the burnt offerings and sweet incense of prayers and thanksgiving ; if the bread be set in order upon the pure table, and the candlestick of gold, with the lamps thereof burn every morning—that is to say, if amongst us God's blessed sacraments be duly administered, his holy word sincerely and daily preached ; if we keep the watch of the Lord our God, and if ye have forsaken him ; then doubt ye not this God is with us as a captain, his priests with sounding trumpets must



cry alarm against you ; Oh, ye children of Israel, fight not against the Lord God of your fathers, for ye shall not prosper."

II. That this is splendid as rhetoric there can be no doubt, and perhaps the preacher was quite unconscious, while carried on its tide, that he had lost sight of the specific charges of Mr. Bristow. The apostate from his faith, the friend of the Spaniard, and the foe to his country, deserved no civility ; but facts can only be answered by facts. It was very true that such eloquence as Hooker's, employed with single-hearted zeal for the glory of God, and the salvation of men, might well extort the tear of penitence, and prompt the pious resolution ; but whether celibacy was not unjustly slandered, confession and penance little thought of, and fasting almost abandoned, is another thing. That such was the fact Richard Greenham acknowledges with great candour in his fifteenth sermon, the heads of which are thus printed....." Error hath been much spoken against, but truth not so thoroughly taught, which is the cause of the small proceeding of the gospel.....

" Example : in superstitious holy-days, the breakneck of the Lord's Sabbaths, men now not sparing to work on the Lord's day also, because they have not been taught to sanctify it.

" Example : of Lent fast, wherein the abuse of fasting having been checked, and the manner of right fasting so little opened, it is come to pass that men know not how truly to fast.

" Example : of the butcherly discipline once entered, the truth of discipline not being spoken of, it maketh men think that now to speak of it is to make every one a pope in his own parish.

" So likewise ear confession, the gross abuses whereof having been reproved, but the right use....passed over untaught, men care not to confess either to God or men



.....our losses have been greater than our winnings." \*

With this last admission few will concur who feel the value of all that has been won, and the preacher himself would doubtless have explained it away; but if Hooker had gone into St. Saviour's, Southwark, he might have heard Mr. E. Phillips deny the only assertion of his untouched by Greenham; learned that the race was not extinct of which Latimer said: "They think in their hearts that all those which be not married are naught;" † heard that "marriage in its own nature is better than single life," ‡ and sundry other matters to which we shall have to return.

III. One of those canons, which most readers not blinded by party find themselves insensibly taking for their own guidance, applies with full force to this primitive practice. They observe that the reaction is generally proportioned to the original impulse; hence every proof presented to their minds that an excess on one side has been committed, leads them to expect an excess on the other. Prove that the corrupt practices of Rome were trivial, and few in number, they will doubt whether some of them may not have been overlooked; but demonstrate the fact that they were really and awfully great, they will doubt whether, in the vigorous rebound, there may not have been some deviation from truth, although in an opposite direction. The justice of this rule will be best tested by supposing a case. Imagine what the aspect of the church of England might now have been if some of the malpractices of Rome had taken a different course. If, for instance, that church had observed the Christian Sabbath with extreme rigour, and had entirely disused fasting; with what eagerness would every text have been produced

\* Greenham's 15th Serm. † 5th Serm. on Lord's Prayer.

‡ Philip's 2nd Sermon.



which forbade to judge a man by a new moon or a Sabbath; with what force would the practice of our Saviour, in reproving the Jews for their Sabbatical habits, have been brought forward; the tendency of all he said upon the subject being to relax; the omission of it in all the New Testament summaries of the commandments; above all, its incongruity with a state of mind which should make every day a holiday, and every meal a sacrament. Far different from this the sacred institution of fasting, of keeping under the body, and bringing it into subjection to the soul—an observation which Christ and his apostles practised, and for the due performance of which he himself gave the most explicit directions. How totally reprobate would the church have been that rejected fasting!

IV. It is useless to pursue the thought, for the Roman church was enamoured of abstinence, urging it to an extent which often violated the great rule of grace and nature, “Do thyself no harm,”—to the injury of health, and the debilitation of intellect, until the senses and the soul ceased to be true to each other, and recluses could no longer distinguish between their meditations and their experience. Celestial harpings filled their chambers, or voices of the happy dead invited them to caves and deserts to commune with their God; forms of angelic brightness or virgin purity visited them on missions from above, and the child set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel resumed for them those infant looks which were only glorified in manhood. The evasions of the fasts were as absurd as their excesses were injurious: “He that in the holy time of Lent eateth eggs or white meat (as they call it) is a lollard, but he that eateth marchpane, marmalade, figs, raisins, and other delicate and dainty junkets so long till he cry again, hold, belly hold, and drinketh wine of the best and most delicious till he wax red about



the gills and that the sign take him in the head, keepeth a very good lenten fast and is a good catholic.\*" "A doctor of them saith that flesh was accursed in the flood of Noah, but not so fish."† Now, no doubt, all this was very wrong, and made it an interesting question à priori, What will the reformers do with the institution of fasting?

v. They early indicated their purpose. Quite at the commencement of Edward's reign, Dr. Hugh Glazier, formerly a friar, afterwards Cranmer's commissary for Calais, preaching at the Cross, affirmed that Lent was not ordained of God to be fasted, neither the eating of flesh to be forborne, but that the same was a politic ordinance of man, and might therefore be broken of men at their pleasure. In the course of the following year, a proclamation appeared, framed, it would seem, to satisfy all parties, in which the king "allowed and approved those days and times before accustomed to be still kept in the church of England, that men should on these days abstain from their pleasure and meats, wherein they had more delight, to subdue the body unto the soul and spirit. And also, for worldly and civil policy, to spare flesh, and use fish, for the benefit of the commonwealth, where many be fishers, and use the trade of living." A parliament soon after converted these directions into a law enforced by severe penalties; and, in truth, such things come better from legislators than divines. The preachers, however, by whose party the proclamation and the law alike were dictated, did not hesitate to take the same view of the matter in their discourses, and generally shewed that the relaxing, not the stringent, clauses were all in which they felt interested. Licenses were easily procured, which treated the whole as a mockery; kings' patents to eat flesh, "cum quibuscunque cum eo ad suam mensam conves-

\* Stockwood, 1579.

† Philips, 13th Sermon.



centibus omnibus diebus jejunalibus quibuscunque;" and so far from denouncing these as flagrant abuses, the preachers, in some instances, hesitated not to procure them for themselves. Thus there is a licence granted to John, Bishop of Gloucester, and Anne his wife, during his life, with five or six guests, to eat flesh and white meats in Lent, and on other fasting days, dated June, 1551.

VI. It is easy to infer from the practice of a man so sincere as Hooper what his teaching must have been when the subject fell unavoidably in his way in the pulpit. In his course of sermons on Jonah, preached before the king in 1550, the repentance of Nineveh gave such an occasion, especially as he observed, "in this our miserable time, accursed of God for sin, there is great question and controversy moved, not only concerning faith, but also fasting, of which two things I judge it right something should be spoken." Accordingly the remainder of the fifth sermon, and three parts of the next, are on transubstantiation, when the following passages occur:—

"Of Fasting and Sackcloth.—The hypocrites of the world, when they hear of this fasting and putting on of sackcloth, damn straightways the doctrine of faith, and teach that God saveth, not only for Christ's sake, which only faith apprehendeth. As though faith could not only apprehend the mercy of God, and yet have fasting annexed with her. But this present text confoundeth this error; for it saith, the Ninevites first believed the Lord, and then fasted. But, lest we should here err, I will speak a little of fasting; that we may love rather to fast well, than obstinately to defend a false fast.

"What is Fasting? — Fasting is a moderate use and taking of meat and drink, lest the flesh should, by abundance, and too much of it, rebel and overcome the



spirit; and this fast either it is continually or at certain times used. Continually, whenas a Christian man moderately feedeth his body with thanksgiving, for necessary nutriment, and not for to abound or surfeit. This fasting and abstinence the Scripture calleth sobriety. (1 Pet. v.) The fast done at certain times, is also either private or public. Private when any man, considering and weighing his own infirmities, bindeth himself from meats and drinks, to tame and overcome the vehement and lascivious inclinations thereof to the obedience and rule of the spirit. (1 Cor. vii.) A public fast is when, for a public and common calamity, trouble, or adversity, the magistrates command a solemn and public abstinence and fast.

“But in both these fasts there must be used a circumspect and godly diligence, lest in the abuse of fasting we offend, and provoke the ire and displeasure of God the more against us. We may offend first, if we fast for any other purpose than to keep the body in subjection to the spirit. Therefore, it is to be taken heed of that we fast not for merit or for custom. The second is, we offend if we fast in the honour of any creature. The third, if for one fasting day, we make three glutton feasts, as the fashion is for the most part. I would wish, therefore, that the true fast and abstinence were brought in again, and then the Lord would be pleased I doubt not.”

The only other direct mention of fasting occurs in a parenthesis in the seventh sermon, shewing how “those of the ecclesiastical policy take away this honour and praise from God...by...the diversity of meats for religion’s sake, (yet I approve the commandment of the magistrates, that for a civil policy, cause certain days appointed to eat fish in;) images; forbidding of marriage in the Lent; the use of such vestments or apparel as obscure the ministry of Christ’s church,” &c.



VII. An ignorant person might imagine that such were the words of some time-serving aspirant after promotion ; but they were spoken by a man of amazing intrepidity, and one whose honours were forced upon him by actual imprisonment. A much better and more dispassionate discourse was delivered in professed defence of the proclamation which Hooper approved, although he emancipated himself and friends from its fetters, at Oxford, in St. Peter's church, by one as high-minded and fearless as the martyr, although he lived to be a bishop under Elizabeth. Bentham's sermon is interesting and valuable. The subject is Christ's temptation. The fasting of Christ, he observes, was miraculous, and, therefore, inimitable ; the fasting of the early Christians optional, not compulsory, and of short duration. At the same time, he admits the great antiquity of the Lenten fast, and its general utility, " although some be troubled with infirmities and diseases, and have more need of meat to strengthen than of abstinence to humble them." Viewed as an ecclesiastical law, he thinks with St. Augustine, the practice of the church in the age and nation where he lives ought to guide every Christian man.

" Touching this fast of Lent, because it being used as the Fathers have used it, is not contrary to any article of our faith, nor godly conversation, notwithstanding we have no express ground in Scripture, may well and commendably be used so long as the king and council for the profit and commodity of this realm, pretending no holiness or religion in it, think it expedient. And in this respect where you fast forty days, for my part I would rather wish you to fast forty days more, than one day less, it being so necessary for the commonwealth as it is ; and therefore I have thus much spoken to make it known unto you that it is not any commandment of God, but a politic civil law, made for



the wealth of the realm, and is with like reverence and obedience to be observed as the other laws."

VIII. Latimer takes much the same view: "'There be laws made of diet how we should feed our bodies, what meat we should eat at all times, and this law is made in policy (as I suppose) for victuals' sake, that fish might be uttered as well as other meat. Now as long as it goeth so in policy, we ought to keep it; therefore all except those that be dispensed withal as sick and impotent persons, women with child, or old folks, or licensed persons, all the rest ought to live in an ordinary obedience to those laws, and not do against the same in any wise.'" \*

IX. The ancient practice of communicating fasting was of course destined to feel the influence of the new learning. Roger Hutchinson says, "Whiles they were eating, Jesus took bread" and ordained his last supper. Some do reason hereof that the sacrament is not to be received fasting as the custom now is; but after other meats and drinks, after a certain refection, banquet or maundy; which they say those that be rich should make to refresh the poor and needy. For the defence of this maundy they allege not only Christ's example, but also where it is written that the Corinthians indeed kept such a maundy. But Paul reprehendeth them therefore and disannulleth their custom as an occasion of gluttony and drunkenness, of pride, of contention, and other misbehaviour in the church, saying unto them, 'Have ye not houses to eat and drink in, or else despise ye the congregation of God?' And again: 'If any man hunger let him eat at home, that ye come not together unto condemnation.' Nor Christ did not celebrate this sacrament after other meats and drinks to

\* Latimer's Fourth Sermon on the Lord's Prayer, and more to the same purpose in the Sermon on the Gospel read in the church the third Sunday in Advent.



stablish any such custom, nor to give us any example to do the like, but rather to teach us that our sacramental bread is succeeded instead of the Jews Easter lamb, and that their ceremony is now disannulled and abrogated. Therefore the universal church, commonly, according to Paul's mind to the Corinthians, useth now to celebrate the Lord's supper fasting, without any maundy, and not after other meats. Notwithstanding, as he doth well that cometh fasting to the Lord's table, so he doth not ill which, by occasion, cometh after he hath eaten and drunk. Meat and drink do not defile, and do not make a man an unmeet guest for Christ's board, for the marriage dinner of the king's son; but lack of the wedding garment, that is, sin and iniquity.\* Still however the practice lingered, and more than thirty years after, Bulkley recommended "men to refrain from touching meats when they come to communicate on this sacrament unless it be for some great infirmity and necessity." †

x. From the language current on this subject during Edward's reign, no one could have expected that on the accession of Elizabeth a straightforward, sound, and scriptural statement of the duty would have been put forth by authority, as in the Homilies it was. They define it as "a withholding of meat and drink, and all natural food, from the body for the determined time of fasting;" and, after guarding against abuse, point out "the ends whereunto, if our fast be directed, it is then a work profitable to us, and accepted of God."

"The first is to chastise the flesh that it be not too wanton, but tamed and brought into subjection to the spirit; this respect had St. Paul in his fast, when he said, I chastise my body, and bring it into subjection, lest by any means it cometh to pass that when I have preached to other, I myself be found a castaway.

\* Sermon at Eaton, 1552.

† Sermon in 1585.



“The second, that the spirit may be more earnest and fervent to prayer. To this end fasted the prophets and teachers that were at Antioch, before they sent forth Paul and Barnabas to preach the gospel. The same two apostles fasted for the like purpose, when they commended to God by their earnest prayers the congregations that were at Antioch, &c.

“The third, that our fast be a testimony and witness with us before God of our humble submission to his high majesty, when we confess and acknowledge our sins unto him, and are inwardly touched with sorrowfulness of heart, bewailing the same in the affliction of our bodies. These are the three ends or right uses of fasting.” The division concludes with a prayer for grace so to use it.

In the second part, the difficulty left as a legacy to the church by the laws of Edward is excellently treated. No compound motive is put forward. The fish diet, by authority of the magistrates “upon policy, not respecting any religion at all in the same,” is boldly distinguished from religious fasting; its obligation reduced to the footing of obedience to a civil law for “maintaining of fishertowns bordering upon the seas, and for the increase of fishermen, of whom do spring mariners to go upon the sea, to the furnishing of the navy of the realm, whereby not only commodities of other countries may be transported, but also may be a necessary defence to resist the invasion of the adversary;” \* and, proceeding to point out the nature of the obligation, does not blink the obvious inference that the more fish can be eaten in such circumstances the better, vindicating the right of the church to dispense with fasting when her state was free from external affliction.

XI. But considerable differences still existed in the opinions of the clergy on this matter. Grindal, for in-

\* IV Homily 2d Book.



stance, considered "that in no one thing the adversary had more advantage against us than in this matter of fast, which we utterly neglect: they have the shadow." Accordingly, during the plague in 1568, he was appointed to draw up a form of prayer to be used every Wednesday during the pestilence, sanctifying the day as a solemn fast; this he did, and Dean Nowell wrote a homily which was circulated with it, which has not a word of abstinence from any thing but sin. Still a few instances occur in which the duty is recognized. A preacher, who only gives his initials, says: "And this is the cause why abstinence from (not one kind of meat as flesh only, but from) all sorts of sustenance, is in the scriptures so oft required, namely, that neither fullness should make us lusty and proud against our God, or drowzy and sleepy when we were to hear of our sin, but that our hungry bodies might teach our pined souls what need we have to cry for the food of life, and how unable to live without his hand whom we so mightily offend, and that the biting worm of hunger might help to tame and bring obedient to the spirit that flesh which farced full hath so contemned to stoop unto his God. So this is the true use of our abstinence from all meats in God's holy fasting day. But to abstain from meats by choice and use other for religion, is merely evil and diabolical."\* And Topsell goes so far as to say "a good Christian cannot come to Heaven but by often fasting:"† but these are exceptions. Some passages from a sermon of Lawrence Chaderton, at St. Paul's, may be taken as a fair specimen of the style in which the subject was generally treated. The preacher was a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge; a violent Calvinist, and chief of the synod of disciplinarians in that university in 1587. He was much esteemed by his party, and appeared for the Puritans at the conference

\* S. H. s. iii.

† Sermons, p. 89.



at Hampton Court; his principles had not, however, developed themselves so offensively when he preached at the Cross in 1578, recommending a fast on account of the prevalence of an epidemic. Having enumerated carnal fastings among the crimes which provoked God's wrath, he exclaims: "For who can tell and repeat the warnings whereby God in mercy hath called us to repentance and reformation of lives? But who hath shed forth as yet the Christian tears of repentance? Not four years ago the Lord did as it were with his own hand set a star in the heavens, whereof the wisest astronomers that liveth can give no reason. Since that we have been admonished by a great and strange comet in the air, by earthquakes, and inundations of waters, all which signs and forerunners of God's wrath are returned to him again as being unable to mollify our stony hearts, that we might turn to the Lord. Only his glorious gospel abideth with us. But, alas! it is grievous to consider how little place it findeth in our hearts, how carelessly received, and how generally by the life and conversation of Christians it is defamed and discredited, so that I greatly fear that within short time it will also depart from us, and by the commandment of God, go unto a people which shall (as the Thessalonians did) receive it not as the word of men but as it is, indeed the word of God. Well, in the meantime, for the better avoiding and turning away the judgments of God which hang over our heads—namely, this present plague whereby the Lord in mercy hath visited this city, I am to request in the Lord's behalf the right honourable the Lord Mayor of this city, and the reverend father, the Bishop, that they would join together in gathering together the people, and calling a solemn assembly, and sanctifying a general and public fast according to the commandment of God and the necessity of this present time. This duty and Christian



exercise is the rather to be done lest our English church, for want thereof, may, through ignorance, judge it either altogether unnecessary or not much material. But if this cannot be obtained, and done in a public and solemn manner, with all zeal and ferventness in prayer, and hearing the word of God, (which I most heartily wish and desire,) then I do admonish every one privately both to use this and all other good means to turn from us and this city all those punishments which our sins most righteously have deserved. For it is not the clean keeping and sweeping of our houses and streets that can drive away this fearful messenger of God's wrath .....but the purging and sweeping of our consciences from all the stinking filth and dross of sin delivereth from the fear and peril of all evil.....if you will employ all your labours, and studies, and cares hereunto, and offer up this sacrifice of praying, fasting, preaching, and thanksgiving, even from the morning unto the evening, according to the example and godly practices of our fathers, which have gone before us; who knoweth if the Lord will return and repent, and leave a blessing behind him, even the precious treasure of his glorious gospel which now we have, and the benefit of which, as yet, we want?" \*

XII. From this uncertainty as to whether any fast at all could be kept, even under the pressure of an epidemic, it is evident enough that the practice itself was becoming obsolete. The confusion of ideas between the observation of a fast and a festival, observable in the following passage is another curious illustration of the fact. "Our time doth ask it, our sins, his just anger, and the wicked's glorious brag doth enforce it. I mean not that ordinary course of abstinence which the laws have wholesomely enjoined only, but I pray in humbleness of my heart, that to those provisions might

\* Chaderton's Sermon on Matt. vii. 21, sign. f. iii.



be added the purpose of the Lord in the outward exercise of fasting ; that is, that as our plagues are to be feared greatly, because our lives are so far out of order, our mourning and fasting should be such as might be extraordinary ; and yet not void of God's ordinance ; and may be said to consist of these two branches—namely, in the outward exercise of abstinence, and in the inward drawing of water. The outward exercise of fasting to humble and supple the heart, the Scripture commendeth unto us thus—first, that we, by authority of the pastor and magistrate, be assembled into the house of God, there to do these things for and during the whole day, which ought to be as a sabbath unto us. First, the ministers (God's prophets) are to preach to us the law of God, and to signify our transgressions unto God against the same, which, then, shall most humble us, when of purpose we assemble to that end.....and further the preacher's office in this fasting, is to pray God heartily for the people. (1 Sam. vii. 4. Joel, ii. 17.) The direction to the people is ruled to us there, that they, in that day of fast, should not only earnestly for ever after utterly detest all sin and iniquity, but that they also abstain from things otherwise approved lawful and requisite, yea, very necessary, and these may be thus divided. Into the godly abstinence of the Christian faster, from lawful and godly pleasures, and into the like abstinence from necessary sustenance. Let the bridegroom go out of his chamber, and the bride forth of her closet (saith the prophet, Joel, ii. 16.) Let man and beast put on sackcloth, saith the law of Nineveh, Jonah, ii. 8, which law, though it strictly tie not us, yet ought Christians to consider how absurd a thing it is, and far from the analogy of a true humbled spirit in the day of fast to assemble with the church in proud, shining, and glorious apparel, for nothing may be then and there admitted which doth



not move to mourning. And for that, our labour and trade of occupation and merchandize worketh profit, and so pleasure and the use of it that day doth work impediment to our fast, therefore the day of God's fast we must so manage as a sabbath to the Lord, as to the Jews it was commanded: and as a Christian help to our humility before the Lord, is yet by authority to be embraced, as the Lord shall work them to think it convenient, the holy abstinence from meats is also in our godly fast required, not that thereby God is simply pleased, but that thereby our bodies should be less sturdy, and our spirits more humbled and apt to pray."\*

Special fasts retained some acceptation when periodical abstinence had grown quite or nearly obsolete. Of direct persuasion to observe stated fast days, the Lent sermons at Paul's Cross contain almost nothing. The people were sufficiently reformed to make warnings against "carnal fastings" unnecessary; like Crabbe's fanatical rector, they did not

"Pass such time,  
In life's good works as swelled them to a crime;"

and lest they should, they were often regaled with doctrines which might act as safeguards.

XIII. There is, indeed, something which would astonish their modern admirers in the zeal with which the first Puritans maintained their Christian liberty. Not the book of lawful sports, if republished by the Religious Tract Society, could create a greater sensation than such a passage as the following, from Deringe's second reading on the first of Hebrews, at St. Paul's, if uttered in a modern pulpit. Deringe, it should be remembered, was, what few preachers of his age were, a gentleman by birth, and if poor in the latter portion of his life, it was because his conscience kept him so. It may, therefore, have been his experience that amuse-

\* A. Anderson, 1581.



ments do not necessarily undermine spirituality, and that nothing suitable to a man's station interferes with his religion unless used in excess or guilty in its own nature. Food, and sufficient of it, was evidently one of his innocent gratifications; he appreciated what philosophical divines might call "the acts of natural worship." "If I know myself by faith made a member of Christ, and his right is mine in the creatures of the world, and in his name and to his glory I use them, whatsoever God hath given me in the days of my pilgrimage, the profit of it is mine; I may use it to my necessity: and the pleasure of it is mine; I may use it to my delight. If my garments be silk, I may put them on; if my table be furnished with sorts of meat, I may eat what my stomach craveth; if I have fields pleasant and delectable, I may walk in them; if I have orchards of great delight, I may eat the fruit of them. Nay, I will say more, that their condemnation may be just which love not the Lord Jesus. If thy dogs will hunt the beasts of the field, or thy hawk will kill the birds of the air, thou mayest use the delight of God's creatures; I mean so far as the state of God's people in commonwealths which he hath ordained, doth permit to every one for his holy recreation and pleasure who walketh faithfully in his calling, to the glory of God and the profit of his people. I do not justify the shameful abuse of the world; I allow not them which will needs wear silk and are not able to buy cloth, or those which so give over themselves to vanity, that the day is too short to make them pastime, except they watch the night at cards and dice and riotous dancing..... I speak only of the goodness of God unto his saints, what recreation God hath given in their weary life. .... We are Christ's, and he hath made all; in his holy appointments let us ever live; for other laws of meats, drinks, days, apparel, &c., as then they may



stand when they are profitable to any country, and made only for policy, so they are to be despised when they are thrust upon the church, and made matters of faith and religion." \*

XIV. This, spoken thus early in Elizabeth's reign, stronger doctrine still was current about its close. A church was mentioned where Hooker might have heard one of his positions as to celibacy assailed. Had what he heard sufficiently excited his curiosity to bring him thither a second time, he might have learned that fasting and retirement gave advantage to Satan, set the mind off its balance, and so approached the nature of sin. That periodical fasting was as absurd as periodical bleeding, that it was not the purpose of Christ to commend unto us fasting, and his own fast of forty days was intended "to provoke Satan the more and to give him all the advantage that might be.—Where, notwithstanding, observe that though Christ, who was indeed the stronger, did lay himself thus open to his enemy, yet that this is no example for us to imagine that we can follow who are lighter than vanity; but that we must avoid solitariness as much as can be, except we will provoke the devil. For this is the humour that lieth fittest for his temptations, when we are destitute of comfort and company." †

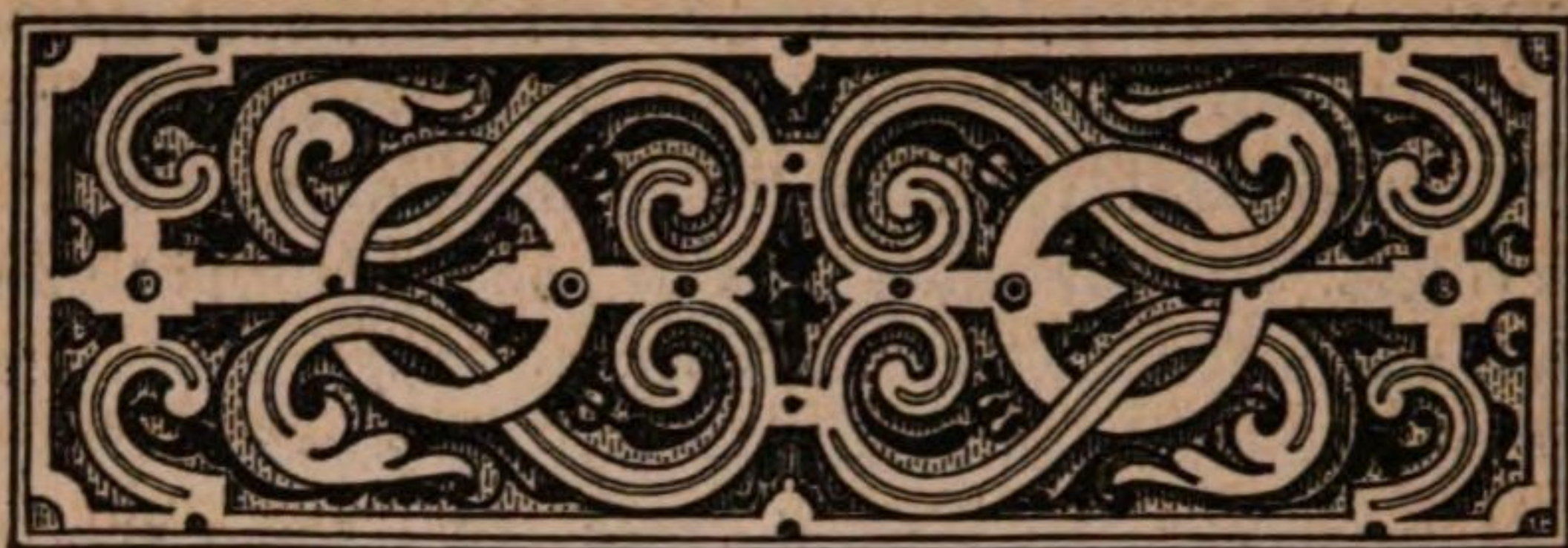
XV. It is not, however, with the doctrines, but the manners of the age that we are engaged at present, and enough has been already recited to shew that abstinence (except, perhaps, on the greater fast days) had ceased to be a general practice before 1580. A few of the clergy disapproved, multitudes applauded the change, and urged in their defence that in the primitive church fasts were short and optional; they might have added, that as the times grew or were supposed to grow worse, and increasing numbers of converts

\* Second reading on Hebrews, p. 14. † Philip's Sermon, xiii.



lowered the general standard of spirituality, as matter of course, although individuals more numerous than before might still maintain "the watch of their God;" the rulers, with very questionable policy, multiplied fast days, and made them compulsory, an experiment which seems to have been anything but successful. Thus Lent expanded itself by degrees from some shorter period (perhaps forty hours, the time of "the bridegroom's" absence in the grave) to three weeks, one and thirty, six and thirty, and forty days, and all the while the church kept sinking into deeper abysses of will worship, and voluntary humility. The church of England was certainly justified in trying a different course, and in times of persecution her sons do not appear to have shewn a diminished capability of enduring hardness like good soldiers. Taught by experience that little was ever gained by compulsory fast days, she practically reduced them beyond all precedent as soon as the secular reasons for their observation ceased to operate, and the evidence on this matter is not so clear as to enable her children dogmatically to determine that she has done wrong.





## CHAPTER XIV.

## STATE OF THE POOR.

“Res hodie minor est, heri quam fuit, atque eadem cras  
Deteret exiguis aliquid.”—*Juvenal*.

## I.

OF the many monastic establishments which once formed such striking features in the landscape of this country, there were doubtless some which the most cold hearted traveller who entered their cloisters would remember with delight. He had threaded the mazes of a forest, or encountered the dangers of a fen for many a tedious hour, and no human habitation relieved the desolateness of his prospect, when, as the sun declined, he heard the music of a vesper bell, and he hailed it as an omen that he was near the abodes of men that feared God, and had learned to love their brethren.

It was not, however, as serving the purposes of hospitality, nor as keeping the country in cultivation, which would otherwise have lapsed, as shortly afterwards it did, into sheep-walks and forests, that the best-ordered monasteries conferred the greatest benefits on society. Situated, as they commonly were, in places far distant from the haunts of men, they acted as dispersers of population—they checked the increase of great cities, and gathering round them settlements of their own



tenants, they gave a value to land they occupied. Having freely received, they let their estates at low rents, securing an abundant profit to the farmer, and enabling him to maintain his labourers in comfort; and when old age and misfortune overtook individuals of either class, they might come to the abbey gate and receive no niggard charity, or enter its cloister, and smile at the anxieties that once they wept over.

II. That such a picture was sometimes realized, few will doubt; but it would be a great mistake to suppose that it was sufficiently common to make it true that the monasteries sustained the burthen of the poor. Many of them were themselves supported by mendicity, and others, by indiscriminate alms-giving and hospitality encouraged a class of vagrants which the law found it difficult to control. At the same time, they did enough to be regretted when they were no more; and the vindictive manner in which this acknowledgment was sometimes conveyed, renders it more worthy of an enlarged construction. "If ye were not stark blind," says Lever, preaching at the Cross in 1550, "ye would see and be ashamed, that whereas fifty tun-bellied monks given to gluttony filled their paunches, kept up their house, and relieved the whole country round about, then; there one of your greedy guts devouring the whole house, and making great pillage throughout the country, cannot be satisfied." Indeed, although the legislature had affected to provide for the support of the houses which had been alienated from the church, the fortunate holders almost invariably disobeyed the spirit of the law. "Many for fear of the statute keep up houses, but as for the householding, they maintain it so that neither mouse nor sparrow will abide there."\* Before the dissolution of the monasteries, however, pauperism which had long solicited aid from the piety of the

\* Chedsey's Sermon, 1545.



country as a humble suppliant, began to demand it from her fears as a strong man armed.

III. The first remedy tried was that of begging licenses, which justices of peace were empowered to bestow on paupers, available only within certain limits. The universities also granted licenses under their seal to their scholars, and thus it was hoped that the "great routs and companies of beggars," who, notwithstanding the severities of former acts, were "daily augmented," would be checked. An act embodying these provisions was passed in the 22nd of Henry VIII., but the evil was fast extending beyond coercive measures; and in the twenty-seventh year of the same reign, this act was reinforced by another, requiring every parish to employ beggars, and collect charitable funds on Sundays and holidays from the congregations in churches. Indiscriminate relief of vagrants was made an offence, and vagrancy severely punished, reserving, however, the right of asking to the mendicant orders of religion, and the right of indiscriminate giving to the monasteries. Parishes which failed to employ these means were to be fined twenty shillings per month. No remedy, however, was provided when all proved insufficient to meet the pauperism of a district, and the next advance, in the first year of Edward VI., when an act directed collectors to beg through a circuit of four miles for the bedridden people of a parish, did not much improve the provision for the poor.

And pausing for awhile upon this period, those evils will be seen in full operation which drove a starving people to rebel. The yeoman's rents, which the liberality of ecclesiastical landlords kept down throughout all the country, were raised to the highest amount the land would bear. The landlords, not content with this, availed themselves of every pretext for enclosing "the commons of every town, so that no poor man can keep



a cow"\* upon them, "the greatest grief," as Lever calls it, "that hath been unto the people of this realm;"† and having done so, converted the largest proportion of their farms into grazing land, which required the fewest possible agricultural servants. The yeomen thus reduced to labourers, the labourers to paupers, and the paupers deprived of their last right—the right of common—driven from their cottages, and the cottages pulled down when they left them, what remained but mendicancy or rebellion?

"It is a common custom with covetous landlords," says Lever, "to let their houses so decay that the farmer shall be fain for a small reward, or none at all, to give up his lease, that they, taking the grounds into their own hands, may turn all to pasture. So now old fathers, poor widows, and young children, lie begging in the miry streets. Oh, merciful Lord! what a number of poor feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly; yea, with idle, vagabond, and dissembling caitiffs mixed among them, lie and creep, begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster."‡

IV. The first visible result of such practices would be the crowding of poor into large cities, and, as the mass of pauperism became so great as to render relief hopeless, a growing indifference in the rich to their necessities and sorrows. The zeal of Dr. Barnes appears to have palliated this evil at first in the metropolis, but he probably died just in time not to survive his influence in this respect, for two years afterwards one writes, "I think in my judgment under heaven is not so little provision made for the poor as in London for so great a city. Well! the poor well feebleth the burning of Dr. Barnes and his fellows,§ which laboured in

\* Hutchinson's Serm. Works, p. 301. 1552.

† Sermon in the Shrouds.

‡ Sermon before the King.

§ Garrat and Jerome.



the Lord; for according to their office they barked upon you to look upon the poor, so that then some relief they had; but now, alas! they be cold, yea, even those which say they be favourers of the gospel.\* Parts of the following passage from Latimer must be familiar to many readers, but a more graphic representation of the proceedings above alluded to could not be found in any other sermon of the period: "You landlords, you rent raisers, I may say you steplords, you unnatural lords, you have for your possessions yearly too much; for that herebefore went for twenty or forty pounds by the year which.....now is let for fifty or an hundred.....Pigs, geese, capons, chickens, eggs, &c. these things with other are so unreasonably enhanced, and I think verily that if this continue we shall at length be constrained to pay for a pig a pound. Furthermore, if the king's honour, as some men say, standeth in the great multitude of people, then these graziers, inclosers, and rent rearers, are hinderers of the king's honour. For whereas have been a great many householders and inhabitants there is now but a shepherd and his dog. My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pounds by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for an hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went to Blackheath field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pounds or twenty nobles a-piece, so that he brought them up in godliness

\* Lamentation of a Christian against the City of London, 1543. Sign. B.



and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor, and all this did he of the said farm. Where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pound by the year or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor." \*

v. "We have good statutes made for the commonwealth," he continues, "as touching commoners and enclosers, many meetings and sessions, but in the end there cometh nothing forth." And he gives in another place the reason, showing how such matters were managed. "I remember mine own self a certain giant, a great man, who sat in commission about such matters, and when the townsmen should bring in what had been enclosed, he frowned and chafed and so near looked and threatened the poor men, that they durst not ask their right." † He might have said the same concerning the provision for relief of the poor, since it appears that an ingenious covetousness had made it a pretext for depriving the labouring classes of advantages which ancient customs had allowed them. "Hear, therefore," says Lever, "and I will tell you more. There were in some towns eight, in some ten, and in some a dozen kine given unto a stock for the relief of the poor, and used in such wise that the poor cottagers which could make any provision for fodder had the milk for a very small hire, and then, the number of the stock reserved, all manner of vails besides, both the hire of the milk and the prices of the young veal and old fat ware was disposed to the relief of the poor. These be also sold, taken, and made away. The king beareth the slander, the poor feeleth the lack, but who hath the profit of such things? I cannot tell, but well I wot, and all the

\* Latimer's first Sermon before the King.

† Latimer's Sermon at Westminster, 1550.



world seeth that the act of parliament made by the king's majesty and his lords and commons of the parliament for the maintenance of learning and relief of the poor, hath served some as a most fit instrument to rob learning and to spoil the poor."\* Well might Gilpin exclaim, in a sermon intended for the royal ear, but from which Edward absented himself—"Alas, noble prince, the images of your ancestors graven in gold, and yours also contrary to your mind, are worshipped as gods, and all the while the poor lively images of Christ perish in the streets through cold and hunger."†

VI. A new act relating to paupers passed in 1562, by which collectors were appointed, and any persons refusing to contribute according to their abilities, were made liable to a fine of 10*l.* in the bishops' courts. The justices of peace were also empowered to assess such unwilling givers in a fair amount, and imprison them until it was paid. The practice was also continued of licensing supernumerary poor as beggars, who were to wear a badge on the breast and back of their outer garment. How the more merciful clauses of this act were administered we shall see presently. The general tenor of it, that parishes were to support their own poor, was promptly interpreted in such a way as to give point to Drant's censure: "This is but a covetous folly to persuade ourselves that we are not bound in conscience to give anything out of our own parishes. Concerning impotent persons," he proceeds, "and poor in general, though many hospitals have been for them erected, and her majesty and her majesty's council have had by one act of parliament to their relief a good respect, yet Christ this way and in his people is more hungry than Lazarus, and more needy than Irus, and as the Scripture saith Abel's blood cried to God, so we

\* Lever's Sermon before the King, 1550.

† Gilpin's Sermon at Greenwich, 1552, p. 66.



think the hunger of this hunger-starved generation should cry aloud to God." \* "Oh ye rich men," says Bedel, "consider your duty; remember the poor, and of your satiety fill their emptiness. Ye that eat till ye blow, and feed till your eyes swell with fatness, that taste first your coarse meats and then fall to your fine; that drink the cold drinks for your stomachs that are hot, a cup of claret wine; some ale or beer to lay a foundation, then eat till too much make us blow, and then a good carouse to make good digestion, a cup of sack for the stomach that is cold, it is good at middle meals say some, and I know not what the prodigal waster licentiously doth spend, which with thanksgiving unto satiety God hath created for you.....But what should I speak of Chrysostom's counsel, or use mine own persuasion, or infer the verses of poets? when as there are good and godly laws appointed for the same in this realm of England, as cessments in parishes and collectors of the same, forfeits for absence from the parish church, and sidesmen for the same, and such others ordained by authority for the comfort of the poor. But how loosely is this looked into, it appeareth in the treasure of the poor; for every man plucketh his neck out of the yoke, and no man asked why so: the forfeits is never asked, be absent who will; thus conscience is careless and lieth asleep, regarding neither duty towards the poor nor vow towards God, neither worldly shame and improof for their negligence, nor the answer they have to make for the poor, neither the cry of them that live for a time, nor the judgment of him that liveth for ever." †

VII. It seems strange, but there is strong evidence for it, that amid all this unpitied misery there was a sort of fashionable patronage commonly extended to

\* Drant's Sermon at St. Mary's Spittle, 1570.

† Bedel's Sermon. The Mouth of the Poor, 1571.



the bold beggar, another name for a highway robber, time and circumstance favouring, so that both the legislature and the pulpit remonstrated in vain with those by whose folly and cruelty they saw "vagabonds relieved and poor abandoned." \* The notion prevalent in Hooper's time, "the greater thief and blasphemer of the God of battle the better soldier," † has never perhaps been quite exploded.

In the 14th year of Elizabeth, another attempt was made at a poor law; and as it seems to have been the general notion that the effect was the cause of the distress, it was hoped that a remedy might be found adequate to meet it by dispersing the accumulated masses of pauperism. Parishes, therefore, were compelled to pass all vagrants to their places of settlement, and defray the expense. Justices of peace were then required to register the impotent folk of their districts, and assess the amount necessary to maintain them on the inhabitants, and no poor were allowed to go to Bath or Buxton, the chief resorts of vagrants who sought or would be supposed to seek benefit from the waters, without the license of a justice of peace. A clause, however, made this, like every former act, ineffective; for where cities could neither relieve nor employ their poor, licenses to beg were granted at quarter sessions; and at about this period a preacher at Paul's Cross said, "I cannot deny but there is a general provision for the poor in this city, and your hospitals find good relief, (God be thanked for it, for he doth it,) but every man's private devotion is very small.....What say you? and the poor lie under every wall, and cry under every stall, and die in the streets, in the time of the gospel." ‡ Yes, and there was half the sorrow with which many a good man looked upon the destitution around him—

\* Kethe's Sermon, f. 9.

† Hooper's 3rd Sermon.

‡ T. White, 1577, at P. C., p. 61.



that all this had a connexion, obvious to the most superficial observer, with the diffusion of reformed opinions. If they were too truly pious to carry out their doctrines on human merit, faith, and justification with logical severity, many a "carnal gospeller" would do it for them, and lay on them the onus of the deduction. Well, therefore, did the language of shame and sorrow become the Christian preacher, when, under his instructions, charity obviously decayed; and honourable would it have been if, in moments of vexation, he had never adopted less generous language; if no one had ever stood up at Paul's Cross, and said, "I conclude that all the large givings of the papists, of which at this day many make so great brags, because they be not done in a reverend regard of the commandment of the Lord, in love, and of an inward being touched with the calamities of the needy, but for to be well reported of before men whilst they are alive, and to be prayed for after they are dead.....are indeed no alms, but pharisaical trumpets." \*

VIII. No laws could divest of suffering that transition which the whole economy of the nation was at this time undergoing; and although it may have been an advance inevitable in itself, and advantageous to the community for a considerable period, it is hard not to sympathize with the poet of Auburn in mourning over

\* Stockwood at Paul's Cross, p. 108, 1578. The style of charity had altered as well as its amount. There was probably no parallel in England at the end of Elizabeth's reign, to the example and practice of the Lady Margaret Countess of Richmond, as stated in Fisher's funeral sermon. "Poor folks to the number of twelve she daily and nightly kept in her house, giving them lodging, meat, and drink, and clothing; visiting them as often as she conveniently might, and in their sickness visiting them and comforting them, and ministering unto them with her own hands. And when it pleased God to call any of them out of this wretched world, she would be present to see them depart, and to learn to die."



deserted villages when the sad realities pass in review, and linger where the garden flower grows wild, to ask what Englishmen have gained by denying it cultivation. The system of speculating in corn, and depopulating towns, appears to have been as rife in the end of Elizabeth's reign as in the beginning of Edward's; and the following remonstrance of Trigge might have come from the lips of Latimer;—

“The poor man must needs sell presently to maintain his family, to pay his rents; and that which he sells, the rich cormorant buys that hath money enough lying by him, to hoard it up that he may sell it dearer after . . . . . These buyers commonly dwell in market towns, and wait to get into their hands all the corn (if it were possible) in the country; nay, they will not only wait at home, but they will travel abroad into the country to those men whom they know have great plenty of corn to sell, and will bargain aforehand with them for as much as they can spare, and so will prevent the market . . . . . And when they have it in their garners they make the price at their pleasure . . . . . Surely this is a wolf of the soul, and they regard it not . . . . . Some other will sell at home to their poor neighbours, but they will make them pay for their ease. They shall pay above the market something, or else they will let them have none . . . . . They know the poor man must needs have it. He cannot buy it in the market, because he cannot then convey it home, and knowing this his necessity . . . . . they will make him pay above all reason; . . . . . and that also which maketh their sin more heinous, if they send any corn to market they will dress it very clean, and it shall be of their best corn; but if they sell at home, they which buy shall be constrained to take their worst or meanest, and not so well dressed . . . . . These degrees are manifest, and these make this a sin, in the highest degree



of comparison, which most men account no sin, but an alms and neighbourly deed.

“The Romans, who were without Christ in their civil and politic laws, in the dark, without light of the sun, how near the mark they have shot. First, they decreed that no common things should be sold, and now if a purchase be made those things are first of all looked to. All towns are almost decayed and undone, their common things and lands whereby the common stocks of their town hath been wont to be maintained be by some means or other taken from them . . . . . Secondly, they established that no houses should be pulled down. This thought they in reason should be a decay to their commonwealth ; and this we may daily see in the country, where now-a-days men will buy houses to pull them down that they may have a prospect, that they may have a garden, or suchlike pleasure. And so now where Christ his family hath been maintained grow trees or nettles. It would pity one to hear how that many towns are now almost turned to granges, all the livings of a great many being annexed to one new great house, whose chimneys perchance smoke not once in a twelvemonth. What aid can the prince have, of so many families decayed ; or what relief can the poor have, when so many hands that should be and were able to give are quite cut off ? Surely now this one thing weakens the realm and makes so many beggars in most towns, either by this pulling down of houses and farms, or else by covetous joining of two farms into one. What should I speak of the decay of our tillage, which cannot choose but breed a weakness in the whole body, and this consumption yearly almost in all places increaseth, for as Solomon saith, where no oxen are, there the crib is empty, but much increase cometh by the strength of the ox . . . . . Verily will the Lord one day call to account those



..... that have decayed townships, have made a wilderness where were houses like flocks of sheep.\*

IX. Although the public burthens were unusually light, and as the Bishop of Chichester observed, "if young men ask of these old men they shall not find it in the memory of the oldest man so many years free from payments and contributions as have been in this our most gracious sovereign's time;" † the evils already alluded to were not remedied, and that others were coming rapidly into the foreground, which played an important part in the commotions of the next century, will appear from the following statement in one of Topsell's sermons. A greater refinement of cruelty and hypocrisy than it imputes will be sought for elsewhere in vain:—"Some I know there are that make slaves and fools of their wards and pupils, and desire nothing more than to get all that they have into their own hands, whose books of accounts and bills of reckoning shall surely follow them to the Lord's judgment; and they think they are very charitable if they can get away any man's lands and livings, and afterwards bring up their heirs in their kitchens to be scullions, or else at their ploughs or sheep folds to be drudges and slaves all the days of their life. Oh, miserable and wretched charity! to make them the servants to their own goods, and pay their hire with their own lands. Others will cozen for lands, and extort all they can, and then will make them their farmers who were the owners, and think they do them a pleasure, and thus they threaten kindness, like lawyers and usurers which pay themselves with ours, and yet say we are beholden to them."

X. The evils then were palpable enough. Two remedies were proposed to meet them; and the first,

\* A godly and fruitful sermon preached at Grantham, A. D. 1592, by Francis Trigge.

† Curtess 1584, at Paul's Cross.



which was not adopted, could scarcely have worked worse than the second has done. The thought arose naturally enough in the minds of the reformed clergy, that as from time immemorial “tun-bellied monks” had dispensed the nation’s charity, and as the injunctions both of 1547 and 1559 had consigned to the minister and churchwardens the custody of the church poor box and the distribution of alms, the most natural course would be to supply the clergy with the means, and empower them to exercise an efficient system of discipline, since they must have facilities for discriminating between vagrants and residents, diseased and malingerers beyond any others, and were not; it is to be hoped, less honest and less tender-hearted than their neighbours. In this view the remarks of Perkins were reasonable and practical, and the reference to existing laws not more pointed than the intimation that better might be made if legislators would fairly entrust to the church the guardianship of the poor:—“In the New Testament the apostles ordained that in every church there should be deacons—that is, men of wisdom and discretion, who were to gather for the poor, and likewise to dispose of that which was given according as every man had need, in which very order of provision for the poor the Lord forbids all wandering begging. These wandering beggars are the shame and reproach of the people where they are suffered, for it argueth want of care, of good order in governors, and want of mercy in the rich that they gather all to themselves, without regard how the poor should live. In relieving these wandering beggars there is this double want in the giver; he cannot tell what to give, nor how much, because he knows not the state of the party that beggeth. Now in alms deeds there ought to be a double discretion, the giver ought to know both his own ability and also the necessity of the receivers. Common relieving at men’s doors makes many beggars, and



maintains a wicked generation ; for these wandering beggars are for the most part flat atheists, regarding nothing but their belly, separating themselves from all congregations ; and from begging many fall to stealing, or else they take such pleasure therein that they will never leave it, no, not for a yearly rent. This is known to be true by experience. All which things duly considered must move the magistrates and every other in their place to see that better order be observed for the poor than door-relieving to all that come, and sith good laws are made in this behalf, men ought in conscience to see the same observed and kept, neither can any man without sin transgress the same. Indeed, if good order were not provided for the poor, it were better to relieve them in their wandering course than to suffer them to starve, for so dealt Christ and his disciples with the poor, when good order failed among the Jews. They relieved them in the highways and streets." \*

XI. The congregations of foreigners entertained in London appear to have set an edifying example of the effect of a strictly ecclesiastical system of charity in soothing the woes and obliterating the severer features of poverty. Bp. Andrews preaching a Spittle sermon in 1588 observes, "Methinketh it strange that the exiled churches of strangers which are harboured here with us, should be able in this kind to do such good as not one of their poor is seen to ask in the streets, and this city, the harbourer and maintainer of them, should not be able to do the same good." †

XII. The second remedy, as stated in a sermon preached in 1596, was to make over the poor directly to the civil magistrate ;—"Now this office of distributing is not only private but public, and appertaineth to the magistrate as well as to other rich men. For distribution must be made both private and publicly, both of our private wealth and common stock. It ap-

\* Perkins, iii. 92.

† Vol. v. p. 43.



pertaineth therefore unto the magistrates, first to provide and then to distribute, for they are called feeders, in which case they must be both careful to prevent, and diligent to content, the murmuring of the people, as Moses was when the people of Israel murmured one while for bread, another while for water, and another while for flesh, whereat no doubt Moses was greatly grieved, and was careful to appease them. They must be as Joseph, good stewards to provide in time of plenty for the dearth to come, that they may preserve the life of their brethren, in which case it might please them to take a view of a little book intituled, 'The Regiment of Poverty.'

"Neither must this charge of provision be wholly laid upon the common stock, but they themselves also must liberally confer of their private goods to help the common stock, that their example may induce others. For when it is said in the gospel that the rich men cast in their gifts into the treasury, it is implied that some among them were magistrates; and if David would not offer sacrifice to God of that which cost him nought, no more may our rich men make this sacrifice to God of that which cost them nothing. Wherein we have a most royal example in the Queen's Majesty's bountiful benevolence towards the poor of the city of London to induce the liberality of her subjects."

XIII. The last legislative measure of Elizabeth came too late to allow us to furnish pulpit commentaries of any importance in her reign. Suffice it to say, that overseers of the poor were appointed in 1601, who, with the churchwardens, were empowered to build poor-houses on waste lands, and disburse poor-rates assessed by the justices of peace by distress. Thus the molten image, which political economy set up to commemorate the death of Christian benevolence, was lifted on its base, and there it stands to the present hour,





## CHAPTER XV.

## FUNERAL SERMONS.

“ There is a spell, by Nature thrown  
 Around the voiceless dead,  
 Which seems to soften censure's tone  
 And guard the dreamless bed  
 Of those, who, whatsoe'er they were,  
 Wait Heaven's conclusive audit there.”—QUARLES.

## I.

**A**MONG the many funeral sermons which every age has left on record since the invention of printing, some have taken their rank in the permanent literature of the country, and embalmed imperishably the memory of the departed. Had the Countess of Carberry never figured among Milton's beautiful creations as the Lady in the Masque of Comus, she would have been remembered while the language lasts as the Lady of the Golden Grove, of whom Jeremy Taylor said, “ As she related to God in the offices of religion, she was even and constant, silent and devout, prudent and material. She loved what she now enjoys, and she feared what she never felt. And God did for her what she never did expect. Her fears went beyond all her evil, and yet the good which she hath received was, and is, and ever shall be beyond all her hopes. She



lived as we all should live; she died as I fain would die.

‘ Et cum supremos Lachesis perneverit annos  
Non aliter cineres mando jacere meos.’” \*

II. It would be severe criticism, indeed, to blame any praise consistent with the truth, when it might console a mourner, and the eulogized could never hear it. Hooker, however, has embodied a defence of funeral sermons in one which he preached over a lady whose name is unrecorded; and if the defence has all his magnificent strength, the consolation must have fallen on a husband's or a father's ear like the whisper of an angel. “ Naming patience, I name that virtue which only hath power to stay our souls from being over-excessively troubled; a virtue wherein if ever any, surely that soul had good experience, which extremity of pains having chased out of the tabernacle of this flesh, angels, I nothing doubt, have carried into the bosom of her father Abraham. The death of the saints is precious in his sight, and shall it seem unto us superfluous at such times as these are, to hear in what manner they have ended their lives? The Lord himself hath not disdained so exactly to register in the Book of Life, after what sort his servants have closed up their days on earth, that he descendeth even to their very meanest actions; what meat they have longed for in their sickness; what they have spoken unto their children, kinsfolks, and friends; where they have willed their dead carcasses to be laid; how they have framed their wills and testaments; yea, the very turning of their faces to this side or that, the setting of their eyes, the degrees whereby their natural heat hath departed from them; their cries, their groans, their pantings, breathings, and last gaspings, he hath most solemnly commended unto the memory of all generations. The

\* Taylor's Funeral Sermon on the Countess Carberry.



care of the living both to live and die well must needs be somewhat increased when they know that their departure shall not be folded up in silence ; but the ears of many be made acquainted with it. Again, when they hear how mercifully God hath dealt with others in the hour of their last need, besides the praise which they give to God, and the joy which they have, or should have, by reason of their fellowship and communion of saints, is not their hope also much confirmed against the day of their own dissolution ? Finally, the sound of these things doth not so pass the ears of them that are most loose and dissolute of life, but it causeth them some time or other to wish in their hearts, *oh ! that we might die the death of the righteous, and that our end might be like his !* Howbeit, because, to spend herein many words would be to strike even as many wounds into their minds, whom I rather wish to comfort ; therefore, concerning this virtuous gentlewoman only this little I speak, and that of knowledge, *she lived a dove, and died a lamb.* And if, amongst so many virtues, hearty devotion towards God, towards poverty tender compassion, motherly affection towards servants, towards friends ever serviceable kindness, mild behaviour, and harmless meaning towards all ; if, where so many virtues were eminent, any be worthy of especial mention, I wish her dearest friends of that sex to be her nearest followers in two things : silence, saying only where duty did exact speech ; and patience, even then, when extremity of pains did enforce grief. Blessed are they that die in the Lord. And concerning the dead which are blessed, let not the hearts of any living be over-charged with grief, nor over-troubled.\*

III. It is true that neither in Taylor's, nor Hooker's, nor any other age, were funeral sermons the most impartial witnesses to the characters of the dead. The

\* Remedy against Sorrow and Fear.



natural wish to say nothing unfavourable of him whose opportunities of doing good or ceasing to do evil are ended, to console those who, whatever he may have been to others, found him their friend or relative; and to follow out every theme which could be suggested by the charity that thinketh no evil, these would bias a good man and give a colour to his discourse. Other motives, however, of a less unexceptionable kind, may have produced more palpable results. It appears to have been customary to procure an efficient preacher at the obsequies of any person of importance. In an age when relationship was more thought of than it is at present, flattery to the deceased might have a more extensive influence on the living than we can now imagine; and to take the lowest motive, the bargain may have been, no praise, no pay. That there were preachers who were accessible to such motives their brethren declared with the utmost candour. "We have our noble and royal preachers that will in a funeral sermon tell of the good deeds of many blasphemers, and misers, and covetous, and filthy, and ignorant, and gamesters, and I think, for money, of witches, and conjurors, and rebels, pronounce in the pulpit that they are in heaven."\*

IV. Of course it was easy and inoffensive on such occasions to moralize on the evanescence of the world, and ask, "When shall we understand that this life is as a vapour, as a shadow, passing and fleeing away, as a fading flower, as a bubble rising on the water; if not now in the decaying, passing, and vanishing away of it? when shall we forsake this wicked world, if not now when it forsaketh us?"† But any practical application was a delicate point, unless the preacher dared recommend his audience to live like the departed. Instances

\* Topsell's xxxv. Sermon.

† Nowell's Homily of the Justice of God.



do occur, however, in which preachers have met this difficulty very dexterously; of this Grindal's sermon on the Emperor Ferdinand I. is one of the most remarkable. At other times, finding that they had to deal with a Gordian knot, they cut it asunder. Babington (who, by the way, was then on the point of leaving his Welsh bishopric for one in England) preached on the demise of some gentleman in the principality, whose character he got rid of thus:—"His birth and descent by father and mother, his kindred and friends by either side, his alliances by marriage, with such like, they are things known even to the very younglings here; which skill, not only concerning him, but of all others of any note in this country, when I speak of, Lord! how it striketh my heart within to think and consider, not only how little skill, but how little will also, is in many of us to be acquainted with better matter; for you know it as well as I, and with grief, too, I assure myself, that too many amongst us able very perfectly to discourse of these perishing pedigrees, which wise men have thought things little belonging to us, if they might have the whole country for their pains, are not able to tell the descent of either patriarch, prophet, or apostle, or any man of note in the scripture, much less can they utter the holy and comfortable points of salvation belonging necessarily unto them."\*

v. The avowal of ignorance, of course, relieves the preacher from all details, and acquits him of compromising any principle. In some cases, however, this plan was wholly unavailable. In notices of departed kings it was impossible not to give them some definite character. It has long puzzled the curious in such matters how it was contrived that almost every state prisoner executed in the reigns which are here referred to, died protesting his sense of the clemency and justice

\* G. Babington, Third Sermon.



of his sovereign. It is at least equally singular that men, speaking in the presence of God, and they not always nor commonly hired sycophants, but conscientious confessors, who sometimes trampled on the world with a calm dignity quite beautiful, could talk of such monarchs as Henry and Elizabeth as if they had adorned the church they loved to plunder. Perhaps the idea that they were God's appointed instruments, as the Judges of old, for a certain specific work; and that their faithfulness in it would be the criterion of their trial, obscured the judgments of divines to a degree which it is difficult for us, brought up in that atmosphere of republicanism which, more or less, surrounds every Englishman, to form any conception of. "Curse not the king; no, not in thy thought," was to them an inspired maxim. They believed "that the reverence of the king God hath immediately sealed upon the conscience of the subject."\* And they chased away suspicions, as suggestions of the evil spirit.

VI. Stained as he was with the vices of a tyrant, Henry VIII. was certainly a popular monarch; and Gardiner's sermon at his obsequies may have expressed a general sentiment when he deplored "the pitiful and dolorous loss that all manner of men had sustained by the death of so gracious a king;"† but the text he chose, if man may ever judge of the future condition of his fellow men, implied an awful falsehood; "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord." The idea, however, that Henry was, in such a sense, a providential instrument as to be almost impeccable in consequence, finds its way into many sermons, and Nicholas Udal, in his Preface to Erasmus's Paraphrase, hesitates not to speak of him as "a man after God's own heart; a right David chosen to destroy Goliath with the stones-

\* F. Marbury's Sermon at the Spittle, 1602.

† Str. Mem. II. ii. 309.



throw of God's word from the sling of his Spirit working in him ; God's elected instrument to pluck down the idol of the Romish Antichrist ; the David who so substantially laid the foundations of the temple that the young Solomon might easily proceed with the superstructure."

VII. Any preacher might have been pardoned for carrying to an extreme his eulogy on Edward ; for he was a devotionally minded youth of remarkable attainments. His virtues were, in a great measure his own ; his faults, in some instances, the faults of others. The germ of his father's character, though now and then peeping forth, had not been matured ; and they who remembered his mother might see her charms in him again. There was no courtly flattery in those words which Bradford uttered, preaching shortly after his departure. " And here with me a little, look on God's anger, yet so fresh that we cannot but smell it, although we stop our noses never so much. I pray God we smell it not more fresh hereafter. I mean it, forsooth, (for I know you look for it) in our dear late sovereign lord the king's majesty. You all know he was but a child in years. Defiled he was not with notorious offences. Defiled ! quoth he ? Nay, rather adorned with so many good gifts and wonderful qualities as never prince was from the beginning of the world. Should I speak of his wisdom, of his ripeness of judgment, of his learning, of his godly zeal, heroical heart, fatherly care for his commons, nursely solicitude for religion, &c. nay, so many things are to be spoken in commendation of God's exceeding grace in this child that, as Sallust writeth of Carthage, I had rather speak nothing than too little. This gift God gave unto us Englishmen before all nations under the sun, and that of his exceeding love towards us. But, alas and well away ! for our unthankfulness' sake, for our sin's sake, for our



carnality and profane living, God's anger hath touched not only the body, but also the mind of our king by a long sickness, and at length hath taken him away by death ; death ! cruel death ! fearful death ! Oh, if God's judgment be begun on him, which, as he was the chiefest, so I think the holiest and godliest in the realm of England, what will it be on us !" \*

VIII. No such voice of lamentation, however, was heard at Edward's obsequies. Before he was consigned to the grave, his sister, whose hereditary prejudices were as deeply pledged to popery as long ill usage could pledge them, and the example of a beloved and pious mother, was acknowledged lawful queen. Day, the Bishop of Chichester, whom Edward had so shamefully imprisoned, was called from his cell to preach at his funeral. Praise under such circumstances must have been ridiculous in the extreme. The Marian preachers often had occasion to name the youthful king, and generally added " Whose soul God pardon." Brokes in especial spoke as follows before the Queen. " And this very hand of God's vengeance and correction it hath been somewhat of late years laid on even upon this daughter, this realm of England also ; for what penury and poverty, what hunger and famine, what sedition and tumults, what rebellion and insurrection, hath she sustained of late ! What corruption of coin, and infection of air, what pestilent agues and sudden sweats, what servile subjection, and ill-government of certain wicked rulers, briefly what plague can there almost be reckoned up that she hath not of late years sustained some part thereof. What man can deny these manifest plagues manifestly to come of God for the manifest correction of this his daughter England ? Wherefore almighty God, like a good Father, who after he hath corrected his child, breaketh the rod and

\* Bradford's Sermon on Repentance.



sheweth mercy to his child again, now that he hath plagued his daughter, this realm, though not sufficiently for her deserts, and hath broken the rod, our Assur, which was the rod of our Lord's face, (God pardon his soul) Almighty God, I say, intending now to lay on the hand of his endless mercy, and grace upon this dead daughter, and to revive her again, he hath signified this his intent and purpose unto us; and it were no more but even by that he hath sent to reign over us such a merciful and faithful, such a gracious and virtuous, such a goodly and godly governor and ruler, for because God hath loved his people, therefore hath he set her to reign over them, to the end she might execute judgements and justice. What can be a more evident token and sign of God's mercy and grace, God's favour and love towards this daughter England, than after correction to send her at length such a governess, which should enter in, miraculously passing all men's reason; such a Judith as should cut off the head of Holofernes, such an Esther as should convert the wailing of the Jews into rejoicing, such a Mary as by her pure virginity and chaste continency should confound the unchaste incontinency of all such as say they cannot live chastely and continently. Briefly, such an Helena as should be an earnest restorer of the crucifix of Christ, and a speedy redress of all things amiss touching both faith and manners."\*

Unfortunately, the death-bed of Edward was blemished by his attempt to alienate the crown from its proper heir. But his father had done so much towards unsettling the notion of hereditary right, and the advisers placed about him by those who ought to have formed his principles, had so instructed him that, notwithstanding the resistance Cranmer is said to have made, the action most probably had little moral turpi-

\* Broke's Sermon at Court, 155.



tude; especially at a time when earth grows dim to the mortal eye. To this it is probable that Bradford alludes in speaking of the mind of the king as having been impaired by long illness. He died, however, in that lofty frame in which one already entered into rest might intercede for those who are left behind. "Oh, my Lord! bless thou thy people, and save thine inheritance. Defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion." Dr. Owen drew near the couch where the young king lay, unconscious that he had been overheard. Edward smiled on him, spoke, and soon after fainting in the arms of Sir Henry Sidney, expired.

IX. Mary from her youth up had been a child of sorrow. Protestantism had embittered the life of her truly estimable mother, and branded herself with the stain of illegitimacy. The affections of her heart seem to have been tampered with and tried in a way that rarely falls to the lot of any woman; and it is not to be wondered at that the faith to which she looked for support under all should have been her mother's and not her father's. The stain upon her is, that she did not prevent the cruel executions of a law there is too much reason to fear that the Protestants were preparing to turn against their adversaries—a law they actually enforced against Arians—from taking effect. She had compassion for all but those whom she considered the enemies of God, and we may well hope that God had compassion on "The Bloody Queen Mary." White, preaching her funeral sermon, after reciting a discourse sufficiently offensive to her successor, proceeded—"She was a king's daughter, she was a king's sister, she was a king's wife, she was a queen, and by the same title a king also. She was a sister to her that by the like title and right is both king and queen, at this present of this realm. These be great gifts and benefactions of God,



who in his gift is ever to be glorified. What she suffered in each of these degrees before and since she came to the crown I will not chronicle; only this I say, howsoever it pleased God to will her patience to be exercised in the world, she had in all estates the fear of God in her heart. I verily believe the poorest creature in all this city feared not God more than she did. She had the love, commendation, and admiration of all the world. In this church she married herself unto this realm, and in token of faith and fidelity did put a ring with a diamond upon her finger, which I understand she never put off after, during her life, whatsoever success things had, for that is in the hand of God only. She was never unmindful or uncareful of her promise to her realm. She used singular mercy toward offenders. She used much pity and compassion towards the poor and oppressed. She used clemency among her nobles. She restored more noble houses decayed than ever did prince of this realm, or, I pray God, ever shall have the like occasion to do hereafter. She restored to the church such ornaments as in the time of schism were taken away and spoiled. She found the realm poisoned with heresy, and purged it; and remembering herself to be a member of Christ's church, refused to write herself *head* thereof; which title never no prince a thousand and five hundred years after Christ usurped, and was herself by learning able to render a cause why. She could say, that after Zacharias was dead, Onias, the prince, took on him the priest's office, which prospered not with him, because it was not his vocation; but God struck him, therefore, with leprosy in his forehead, and the prophecy was fulfilled, *imple facies illorum ignominia*: she could say, how can I, a woman, be head of the church, who by Scripture am forbidden to speak in the church, *mulier taceat in ecclesia*, except the church shall have



a dumb head? The head of the church must of consequence and duty preach in the church, and he must offer *sacrificia pro peccatis mortuorum*. But it is not read, neither in the Old, neither in the New Testament, that ever women did sacrifice. These and the like authorities of Scripture she was able to allege why she could not be *caput ecclesiæ*, and by learning defended the same. Such was her knowledge as well as virtue, neither ever was there prince on earth that had more of both.

“ But although she were such a one, yet could she not be immortal. It pleased God, in whose hand the heart and breath, the life and death, the beginning and end of princes is, to call her from this mortal life. Of the pleasures thereof (the pleasure she took in the service of God only excepted) no person, I suppose, took less; so of the troubles and bitterness of the same, none here for his estate taketh more. How she took her sickness and disposed herself against death, how she committed herself to God, and the realm to his providence; what she did, what she said, how meekly she demanded, and with what reverence she received the sacraments of Christ's church, and especially the sacrament which Christ hath ordained to be a passport and safe conduct for a Christian man into the heaven of everlasting quiet and rest, and therefore called *viaticum*; and after extreme unction, she being by use of prayer, as expert to say the psalms without book, as the priest was to read them therein; how in the mass-time at the elevation of the sacrament, the strength of her body and use of her tongue being taken away, yet nevertheless she at that instant lifted up her eyes, *ministros, nuncios devoti cordis*; and in the benediction of the church as Jacob blessed his children, she bowed down her head, and withal yielded a mild and gracious spirit into the hands of her Maker. All



this, I say, if it were as pithily expressed, as she godly and devoutly did it, should be to you, as it was to them that saw it, more than ten such sermons. If angels were mortal, I would (rather) liken this her departure to the death of an angel, than of a mortal creature."\*

x. Occasion has been already taken to notice the singular extent to which Elizabeth while she lived was reputed a pious woman. The following passage, describing her death-bed from a sermon at Paul's cross, preached March 27, 1603, will form an interesting pendant to the former relating to her sister. If any one should suspect it of adulation, let him remember that Samson, in a private letter to Peter Martyr, full of earnest opposition to her ecclesiastical measures, yet avowed his heart-felt belief and certain knowledge that she was truly a child of God;† even though it should startle him at the perilous doctrine it exhibits, and convince him that Philips had some reasons for saying, "the Pharisees stand so close about the prince's mouth as that she can hardly breathe in the wholesome air of truth."‡ "Herein we have cause to rejoice, on her behalf, that her end was peaceable without the stroke of man, and without any other stroke of God than such as is common to all men that pass by the strait of death. The bull of Pius V. denounced another end; the invincible armada of Spain threatened another end; many bloody traitors suffering among us attempted another end; and yet notwithstanding the God of peace gave unto her a peaceable end. She lived long our bond of peace, and died quietly a child of peace, as if God had promised her that he promised Abraham, (Gen. xv. 15,) 'Thou shalt go unto thy fathers *cum pace*, in peace, and shalt be buried in *ca-*

\* White's Sermon in Strype, Mem. III. ii.

† Burnet, Coll. Rec. III. 63.

‡ Philip's Sermons, p. 140.



*nitie bona*, in a good age—that is, *satura dierum divitiarum honoris*—full of days, riches, and honour, and all present blessings, as a good age is expounded, (1 Chron. xxix. 28.) David died in a good age, full of days, riches, and honours: our queen, matching him for the fulness of the days of her life, for she was come into the year when David died being seventy year old; and over-matching him for the fulness of the days of her reign, for he reigned but forty years; and she saw the five-and-fortieth of her reign in more peace than David had.....

“And as her end was peaceable, so it was pious, godly, Christian. She died in the faith of Christ, giving evidence thereof in her weakest times, and now enjoyeth the end of her faith, the salvation of her soul, the blessing pronounced from heaven—blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, they rest from their labours.

“On the Sunday last before her death, the Rev. Father the Lord Bishop of Chichester, and Dr. Parry, one of her highness’ chaplains, going to read divine service unto her as the manner was upon the Lord’s-day, her heavy sadness at this time well removed, she pronounced after them the confession of sins with prayer for the forgiveness of them, which is usually pronounced by the congregation when we come together to seek the face of our God. And though it was done with a weak voice, yet was it with great evidence of a fervent spirit looking up unto God. The next night God gave unto her quiet sleep in her bed, whereby she was much refreshed, the Lord preparing her by renewed comfort unto a happy end; for as one well saith, *Vera consolatio perpetuo durat in electis, et si languescit, per Spiritum sanctum instauratur; potissimum autem est efficax circa vitæ finem et mortis articulum.* True comfort endureth perpetually in the elect, if it beginneth at any time to faint, it is restored



by the Holy Ghost ; especially it is strong and effectual toward the end of life and approach of death, which in her grace was observed to the great rejoicing of her servants. For on the Wednesday, death approaching, which she desired that she might be loosed and be with Christ, which is best of all ; the right reverend father the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury coming in unto her at three in the afternoon, he put her in mind of the sufferings of Christ, the means of her salvation, of remission of sins, and eternal life, and most gladly she hearkened unto him, testifying her joy with her hand, which she could not so well do with her voice ; and when the rev. father, knowing how soon sick parties are wearied, did withdraw himself, giving sign with her hand she called him unto her the second time ; and when again after a second speech he withdrew himself, she beckoned to have him come unto her the third time. So pleasing unto her soul was the voice of him that had in his mouth the word of reconciliation, so beautiful in her eyes were the feet of him that did preach glad tidings and publish salvation. And it was not affection to the man, but love unto the doctrine... ..that led her listening ear ; for the Rev. Lord Bishop of Chichester, coming after unto her, rehearsed unto her the grounds of Christian faith, requiring some testimony of her assenting unto them, which she readily gave both with hand and eye ; and when he proceeded so far as to say unto her that it was not enough generally to believe that those things were true, but every Christian man must believe that they were true unto them, that they were members of the true church truly redeemed by Jesus Christ, that their sins were forgiven, and that they should live for ever with God, she did with great show of faith lift up her eyes and hands to heaven, where she knew her life to be hid with Christ in God, and stayed them long, testifying



her particular faith and apprehension of God's mercy to her in Christ. So continuing unto the death a profession of the faith whereof she had been defender in her life; and findeth now the truth of his promise that said (Rev. iii. 10,) Be faithful unto the death, and I will give thee the crown of life. Thus did she end her days in the faith; and even in her that is taken away we have cause of rejoicing, when we consider how God took her away in his great mercy, ending her days in peace and in the faith of Christ." \*

XI. With this notice of the queen's last hours the curtain might fall upon the scenes exhibited from her reign. Some of them have been sufficiently repulsive, but as Elizabeth certified by proclamation that no portrait had ever done her justice, these may have failed to exhibit absolute truth. However, they are merely given as the view which clergymen put forward in their pulpits of things which fell under their observation, or reached their ears while recent or proceeding, and a review of the whole century by one who was hailing the accession of James in the Cambridge University pulpit, on the day after the sermon at Paul's Cross just quoted, shall conclude them.

"Henry VIII. did cut off the head of the Roman serpent, but left the tail still among us—that is, the six articles, which did sting many saints of God to death; even as King Ahaz is said to have walked in the way of the kings of Israel, so did he. Though he drove out the pope, yet did he retain the old idolatries of popery; but his son, King Edward VI., succeeding him, as another Hezekias, took away both the head and the tail at one blow, whom Queen Mary as another Manasses, succeeded, a good woman (as they say)

\* God's Universal Right Proclaimed. A sermon preached at Paul's Cross the 27th of March, 1603, by I. H. [John Hayward.]



but an ill prince, restored both again, and put her own and her people's neck under the Spanish yoke. Behold Queen Elizabeth, the love of God and man, who following her as another Josias, by the strength of Christ did overcome both these monsters with a virgin hand.....to the comfort of millions of souls, and, to the eternal honour of her name, restored and preserved these four-and-forty years and upward, without any toleration, God's holy and pure religion in her kingdom." \*

\* Leonell Sharpe. Sermon at Cambridge, p. 9—11.



## APPENDIX.









## APPENDIX.

P. 9, § XII.

THE defective teaching here ascribed to this great Prelate is the more remarkable because in his *Spiritual consolation*, written to his sister during his imprisonment in the Tower, Christ is held up with a steadiness and force, as “wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption,” which shows how deeply he felt the value of his atonement. A series of ejaculatory prayers which conclude the book, and which he recommends as antidotes to occasional coldness of heart, are a fair specimen of the spirit of the whole.

“ O Blessed Jesu, make me to love thee entirely !

O Blessed Jesu, I would fain but without thy help I cannot.

O Blessed Jesu, let me deeply consider the greatness of thy love towards me.

O Blessed Jesu, give unto me grace heartily to thank thee for thy benefits.

O Blessed Jesu, give me good will to serve thee and to suffer.

O Sweet Jesu, give me a natural remembrance of thy passion.

O Sweet Jesu, possess my heart, hold and keep it only to thee.”

And not one petition is there to Saint or Virgin.



## P. 17, § XIV.

An extract from Longland's English Sermon may, perhaps, be deemed a fairer specimen of his style, and an equally remarkable exponent of his opinions on a controverted text. It occurs in a discourse printed in 1539, preached in 1534 or 5.

“To open, therefore, the true sense of the Scripture in the places aforesaid, and first to begin with the 10th Chapter of Matthew. Here is to be observed that the question being put in general of Christ to all his apostles, what they thought or judged of him, Peter answering for them all, as he was always ready to answer, said, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God; to whom Jesus answered again, Blessed be thou Simon the son of Jona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven, &c.; that is to say, Upon this rock of thy confession of me to be the Son of God I will build my church, for this faith containeth the whole summary of our faith and salvation, as it is written in Rom. x. The word of faith that we do preach is at hand in thy mouth, and in thine heart, for if thou confess with thy mouth, &c.”

The following is a short specimen of a Latin Sermon preached on laying the foundation of Cardinal College, Oxford [Christchurch].

Quis potest benefacere male de se merito? ... et quam rusticum ac indignum esset mendicos et abjectos ad mensam invitare relictis amicis ac consanguineis cæterisque viris honestis? inimicos diligere, offensas ubique relaxare, divitias voluptatis, mundum et omnia delectabilia spernere quomodo possumus, et in mundo sic vivere? Hæc inquiunt isti carnales et mundani, sunt apud homines inhumana inhonesta stulta et quasi impossibilia.

Too true.

## P. 29, § I.

Paul's Cross was once, probably, a beautiful and



lofty structure, having been employed as a place for preaching as early as 1299 ; within a hundred years of this date it was in a ruinous condition, but was repaired about 1425. Its appearance, however, in the incorrect delineations which remain of it, most of them designed in the seventeenth century, seem to indicate that the ancient foundation and external parts of the first story were adapted to a pulpit in which was a projection for the preacher on one side of the hexagon, and room for ten or a dozen persons in the chamber behind him. It was not then surrounded by a wall but a roof of ogee, or, according to other drafts, of simply slanting form, covered with lead, and surmounted by a cross, sufficed for the preservation and utility of this monument, but did not enhance its beauty.

A passage from Chedsey's Sermon ought to have formed part of the text in p. 56, § III.

The universities decay—Grammar schools be desolated, the old trees by reason of age wear away and dry, there is neither slips nor graffes new planted, it is to be feared therefore that there will be no more orchards, it is to be feared that the faith will away. The King's grace of his bountiful goodness, well considering this decay, hath graciously erected in each university of this realm five lessons, the stipend arising to four hundred pounds yearly: beside his gracious exhibitions surmounting far the sum before spoken of. This to the maintenance of Christ's faith and setting forth good learning his grace hath done,—follow follow for the reverence of God.

#### P. 70, § VIII.

Buckley's reference is to the following story :

“There was a patron in England (when it was) that had a benefice fallen into his hand, and a good brother of mine came unto him, and brought him thirty apples in a dish, and



gave them to his man to carry them to his master ; it is like he gave one to his man for his labour, to make up the game, and so there was thirty-one. This man cometh to his master, and presented him with a dish of apples, saying, Sir, such a man hath sent you a dish of fruit, and desireth you to be good unto him for such a benefice. Tush, tush, (quoth he) this is no apple matter, I will none of his apples, I have as good as these (or as he hath any) in mine own orchard. The man came to the priest again, and told him what his master said. Then, quoth the priest, desire him yet to prove one of them for my sake ; he shall find them much better than they look for. He cut one of them, and found ten pieces of gold in it. Marry, quoth he, this is a good apple. The priest standing not far off, hearing what the gentleman said, cried out and answered, They are all one fruit, I warrant you, Sir, they grew all on one tree, and have all one taste. Well, he is a good fellow, let him have it, quoth the patron, &c. Get you a graft of this tree, and I warrant you it will stand you in better stead than all St. Paul's learning."—*5th Serm. before Edward.*

P. 81, § VI.

It may not be uninteresting here to observe the extent to which, under all disadvantages, preachers had multiplied ; and what is more, the comparatively well-ordered state into which parishes had been brought on the accession of James ; a state reflecting great credit on Archbishop Whitgift.

"There may be numbered," says Dr. Holland, preaching in 1599, "in this realm 5000 preachers, catechists, exhorters ; God be praised who increase the number of them." And the following abstract from an Harleian MS. No. 280. 29, will give a favourable view of the religious statistics of the country in the dioceses in England and Wales, as returned by their respective bishops in 1603. The numbers in brackets are erased and corrected by a different but contemporary hand. In the last column *m* stands for men, and *w* for women :—



| Dioceses.                 | Parishes. | Of which<br>impro-<br>priate. | Preachers | Of whom<br>non-gra-<br>duates. | Communicants.     | Recu-<br>sants.    |
|---------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Chichester..              | 250       | 120 (112)                     | 211 (173) | 38                             | 48325 (43197)     | 262                |
| Bristol ....              | 236       | 64                            | 126       | 50                             | 44445             | { 89 M.<br>124 W.  |
| Sarum .....               | 248       | 109                           | 200       | ..                             | 76630 (53797)     | 171                |
| Ely .....                 | 141       | 75                            | 112 (167) | 4                              | 29909 (add 668)   | 19                 |
| Peterboro'..              | 293       | 91                            | 144       | 9                              | 54086             | 96                 |
| Exon. ....                | 604       | 239                           | 223       | 29                             | 188774            | 99                 |
| Gloucester..              | 267       | 125                           | 127       | 54                             | 57563             | 64                 |
| Hereford ..               | 313       | 166                           | 81        | 0                              | 62954             | { 152 M.<br>279 W. |
| L. & Covent.              | 561       | 259                           | 86        | 23                             | 117256            | { 231 M.<br>419 W. |
| Bangor ....               | 61        | 38                            | 47        | 6                              | 38840             | 32                 |
| St. Asaph ..              | 121       | 19                            | 41        | 5                              | 53188             | 250                |
| Landaff ....              | 177       | 98                            | 50        | 12                             | 37100             | 381                |
| St. David's .             | 305       | 100                           | 84        | 15                             | 83322             | 145                |
| Canterbury .              | 262       | 140                           | 201       | 52                             | 52753             | 38                 |
| Peculiars {<br>of do. . } | 54        | 17                            | 58 (56)   | ..                             | 17603             | 18                 |
| Rochester ..              | 98 (76)   | 42 (37)                       | 76        | 13                             | 18956             | 18                 |
| London ....               | 613       | 189                           | 503       | ..                             | 146857 (add 1572) | { 166 M.<br>152 W. |
| Norwich ..                | 1121      | 386                           | 259       | ..                             | 147552            | 324                |
| Oxford ....               | 194       | 88                            | 85        | 13                             | 33527             | 214                |
| Bath & Wells              | 412       | 160                           | 163       | 50                             | 84088             | 102                |
| Winton ....               | 362       | 132                           | 220       | 34                             | 58707             | { 149 M.<br>249 W. |
| Worcester ..              | 241       | 76                            | 120       | 42                             | 56465             | 270                |
| Lincoln ....              | 1255      | 577                           | 920 (663) | 226                            | 24255 (242550 ?)  | 295                |
| York .....                | 581 (381) | 336 (267)                     | 433       | 177                            | 214470            | 720                |
| Durham. ..                | 135       | 87                            | 63        | 14                             | 67279             | 526                |
| Chester ....              | 256       | 101                           | 161       | 32                             | 178190            | 2442               |
| Carlisle ....             | 93        | 18                            | 36        | 6                              | 61699             | 74                 |

“ There are, besides the preachers before mentioned in both the provinces, many honest ministers, well able to catechise and privately to exhort, though they have not the gift of utterance and audacity to preach in the pulpit.” The MS. concludes with the following summary:—

Parishes in both provinces . . . 8806  
Double beneficed men in both . . . 801  
Preachers in both . . . . . 4793  
Recusants in both . . . . . 87014

### P. 97, § XI.

I do not know by what means the Itinerant preachers extorted money, but Stubbs in his truly moderate and candid



work, "The Anatomy of abuses" (1583), says that they may thankfully receive, but ought not to "compel nor constrain the parish to pay for their discourses, whether they will or not, against their wills, as many impudently do. . . . And if a man request them to preach at a burial, a wedding, or a christening, they will not do it under an angel, or a noble at the least; and therefore the papists call our gospel a polling gospel, our sermons, royal sermons, angel sermons, and noble sermons."\*

P. 163, § XIV.

Perhaps nothing furnishes a stronger presumption that the statements in the above discourses are not altogether the ebullitions of narrow-minded men, on a limited view of society, than the embarrassment they felt when their tactics required them to take the other side. Fox, for instance, in his answer to Osorius, besides taking the obviously unfair instances of the Protestant martyrs and exiles, can only recriminate—

"At mores inquis adhuc immutati manent, vel multo etiam deteriores post susceptum hoc evangelium redduntur. Ausculta Lusitane equidem et Judæos ipse audivi eadem hæc nobis Christianis objectantes \* \* \* 'Quid si vestri' inquis 'auditores non modo meliores facti sunt,' etc. De tuis primum auditoribus Osori rationem redde."—*Haddon et Fox cont. Osorium*, fol. 276.

P. 180, § x.

Feckenham wrote an able refutation of one of these abusive sermons, preached at the tower by M. John Goughes, and concludes it thus:

"I desire, I say, to make my humble suit to your worships for myself and my prison fellows both, that hereafter we may not be haled up by the arms to the church in such violent manner against our wills, against all former example, against the doctrine of your own side, (Luther, Bucer, Bullinger, Zuinglius, Ecolampadius, Melancthon, and the rest,

\* *Sign. P. 1.*



every one writing and earnestly persuading that all violence be taken away in matters of religion,) there to hear such preachers as care not what they say, so they somewhat say against the professed faith of Christ's catholic church. And there to hear a sermon, not of persuading us, but of railing upon us. This, if your worships will incline unto for charity's sake, we shall have to render you most humble thanks, and whatsoever else we may do in this our heavy time of imprisonment" (1570).

## P. 223, § x.

Curious attempts were made now and then to obtain the testimony of Satan to the Reformation, both in Scotland and England. The following is an instance of this superstition.

"The ende and last confession of mother Waterhouse at her death whiche was the xxix. daye of July, Anno 1566.

[Here follows a rude wood-cut as a portrait, inscribed "Mother Waterhouse."]

"Fyrste (beinge redi prepared to receive her death) she confessed earnestly that shee had been a wytche and used suche execrable sorsereye the space of xv. yeres and had don many abhominable dede the which she repented earnestely and unfaynedly, and desyred Almyghty God for-giveness in that she had abused hys most holy name by her devyllishe practyses, and trusted to be saved by his most unspeakable mercy. And being demanded of the by-standers shee confessed that shee sent her sathan to one Wardol a neighbour of hers beinge a tayler (with whom she was offended) to hurte and destroy him and his goodes. And this [here a rude engraving of a cat is inserted] her sathan went thereabout for to have done her wyll, but in the ende he returned to her agayne and was not able to do this myschiefe, she asked the cause and he aunswered, because the said Wardol was so strong in fayth that he had no power to hurt hym, yet she sent hym dyverse and sundry time (but all in vayne) to have mischeuid hym. And being demanded whether she was accustomed to go to church to the common prayer or devine seruice, she saide yea and being required



what she dyd there she said she did as other women do and prayed right hartely there. And when she was demanded what praier she saide she aunswered the Lordes prayer the Ave Maria and the belefe ; and then they demanded whether in laten or in englyshe and she saide in Laten ; and they demanded why she said it not in Englyshe but in laten seeing that it was set out by publike authoritie and according to Gods worde that all men shoulde pray in the englyshe and mother tounge that they best understande, and shee sayde that sathan wolde at no tyme suffer her to say it in englyshe but at all tymes in laten : for these and many other offences whiche shee hathe commytted, done and confessed shee bewayled repented and asked mercy of God, and all the worlde forgyvenes, and thus she yelded up her sowe trusting to be in joy with Christe her Saviour which dearly had bought her with his most precious bloudde. Amen."

P. 254, § v.

It seems just to notice here, that more was granted than appears to have been asked. There is a letter in Tytler's *Illustrations of the Reigns of Edward and Mary*, from Hooper to Cecil, in which he writes—

"May it please you to be so good as to desire a license of the king's majesty for me to eat flesh upon the fish days. Doubtless my stomach is not as it has been. In case it were, I could better eat fish than flesh." He solicits the same favour for a citizen of Gloucester, and adds, "Doubtless we will so use the king's authority, as none I trust shall take occasion for liberty and contempt of laws by us."—I. 365, 366. In King Edward's injunctions, 1547, is this article: "Whether they have declared and to their wits and powers persuaded the people that the manner and kind of fasting in Lent and other days in the year, is but a mere positive law; and that therefore all persons having just cause of sickness or necessity, or being licensed by the king's majesty, may temperately eat all kinds of meat without grudge or scruple of conscience." *Strype Mem.* II. i. 79. These licenses were unfavourably viewed by some of the same party. Dr. Turner for instance—"The pope forbiddeth to



eat flesh many times in the year, as in Lent and on the Fridays, and yet selleth licences for many to eat at all times, and so do you.”—*Hunting of the Romish Fox*, Sign E. Scory, however, and Coverdale procured them.—*Str. Ecc. Mem.* II. ii. 246. The Romanists quote this example with complacency.—At the worst it is but the facsimile of such as the popes were wont to issue, or rather, far less objectionable.

## P. 276, § VII.

There is, however, a remarkable testimony bearing in an opposite direction, which would have had greater weight, uttered in a cooler hour. Andrews had just witnessed a scene at St. Mary's Hospital, of which he says,

“I forbid them, the best of them to show me at Rheims or Rome, or any popish city Christian, such a show as we have seen here these two days. To-day but a handful of the heap, but yesterday and on Monday the whole heap, even a mighty army of so many good works as there were relieved orphans. The chariots of this city, I doubt not, and the horsemen thereof.”

On this he proceeds to comment in a manner which would go far towards neutralizing what is asserted in the text. The passage is as follows—

“I will be able to prove that learning, in the foundation of schools, increase of revenues in colleges, and the poor, in foundation of alms-houses, and increase of perpetuities to them, have received greater help in this realm within these forty years last past (1588); since not the starting up of our church, as they fondly use to speak, but since the reforming ours from the error of theirs, than it hath I say in any realm Christian, not only within the self-same forty years (which were enough to stop their mouths) but also than it hath in any forty years upward during all the time of popery, which I speak partly of mine own knowledge and partly by sufficient grave information to this behalf.”  
*Andrews*, vol. v. 37.



P. 294, § ix.

Strype observes on the argument which Bp. White assigns to Mary, what the reader has probably noticed.

“This preacher seems not to be well skilled in scripture history, for he mistakes the name of the prince, whose name was not Onias but Uzziah, and the high priest’s name that succeeded Zacharias was Azariah, who withstood the king when he was going to offer incense. 2 Chron. xxvi.”—*Str. Mem.* III. ii. 546.



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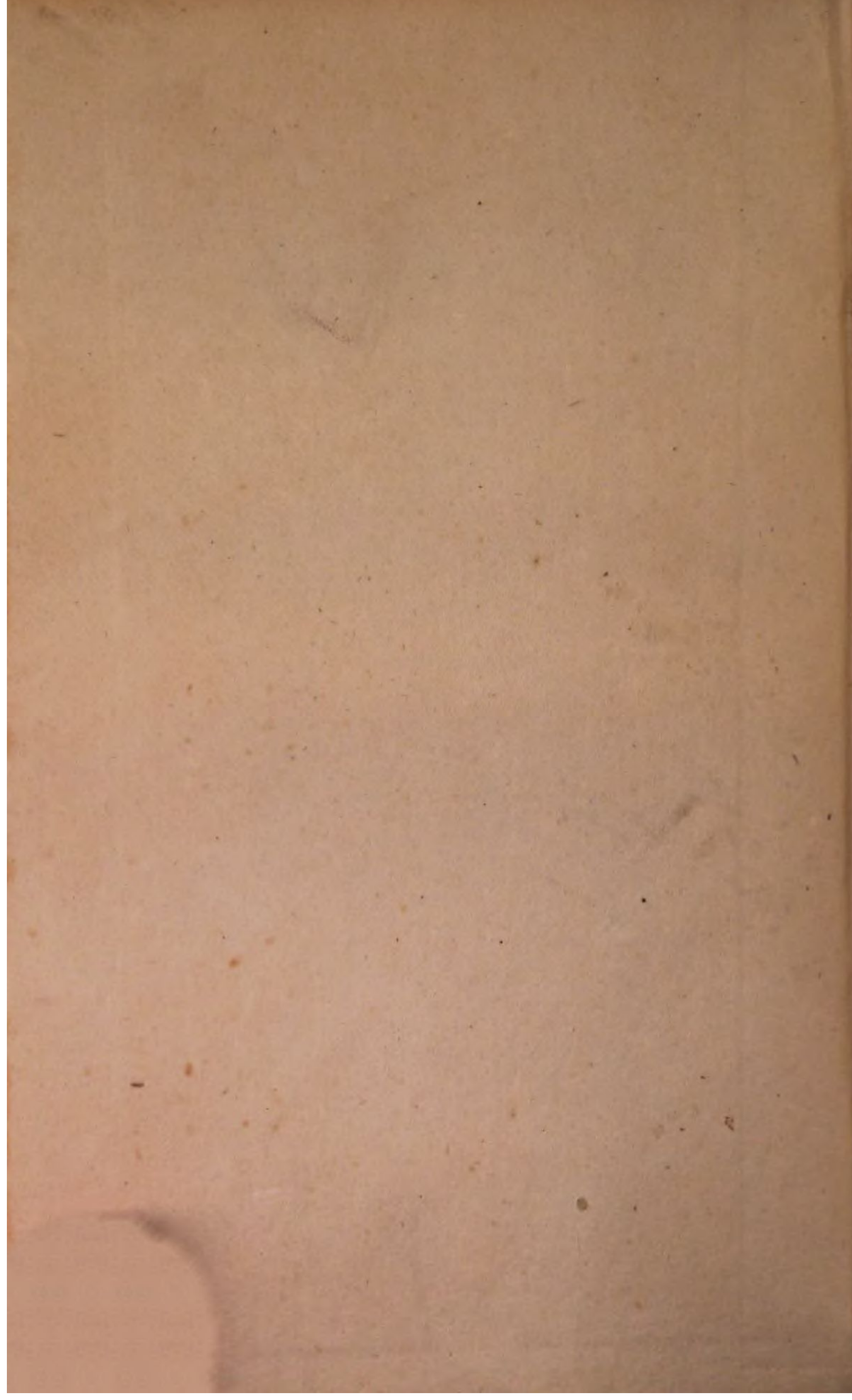














Haweis, John Oliver Willyams

Sketches of the reformation and Elizabethan age taken from the  
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